

CASSOCK AND SWORD

CHARLES LENZ, PH.D.

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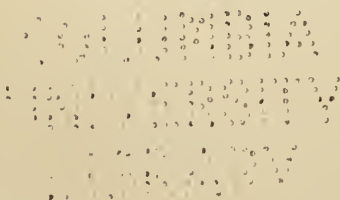
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BY

CHARLES LENZ, PH.D.

Author of "The Future of the American Democracy," "The
United States as a World Power," "The Causes
of the War of Independence," etc.

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER OF
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CHARLES LENZ, Ph.D.

In looking over the activities and achievements of the author of "Cassock and Sword" we are at once profoundly impressed by the wide range of his intellectual sympathies. He was a student of history and economics and wrote illuminatingly and with enthusiasm on "The Future of the American Democracy," "The United States as a World Power," "The Causes of the War of Independence," "The Spanish American War," "Municipalities," "Christian Union," "Der Kulturkampf," "Socialism" and "The Universities."

An essay entitled "Leo III and the Reversal of the Papal Policy of a Thousand Years" won for him distinction from the University of Göttingen, and a prize of 1200 marks.

In these erudite writings the author manifested a patriotic fervor and love for American Institutions which betokened a deep appreciation for the country of his adoption. Naturally of an enthusiastic nature, his patriotism found full expression during the Civil War, at the beginning of which he enlisted in the 46th Regiment, and fought with honor during that entire conflict. At the battle of Fredericksburg he received a serious wound from a bursting shell, a piece of which he carried with him to the grave.

During the Draft Riots of New York City he distinguished himself by significant gallantry and earned the Congressional Medal. He counted among his personal friends General Sigel and other military notables of war fame. He was and remained to the end an active and beloved member of Koltes Post G. A. R., and to its members his death was a personal loss.

But not only by the sword did he gain fame; in like manner he used his pen in war against sham. Educated at a German University he was later honored with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Heidelberg for *honoris causa*. His exceptional mental training served him in good stead in his later intellectual activities, for as a journalist he found a splendid opportunity to exploit the

genius of his pen. He became editor of many of the leading metropolitan journals, and for a time was editorially connected with the New York *Staats-Zeitung*, *The Assocerte Presse*, *New Yorker Herald*, *Volks-Zeitung* and others. It was with greatest enthusiasm and effective energy that he entered into the publication of the *Original Rights Magazine*, the organ of a society that owed its foundation and later success very largely to his personal endeavors. He was drawn instinctively to all subjects that had for their end the betterment of humanity, and as editor of *Capital and Labor* he did much in advancing the best interests of these usually conflicting elements.

His literary activities extended over a period of forty-seven years, during which we find him actively engaged in furthering the cause of the German Evangelical Alliance, the Federation of Labor, and the Boot and Leather Manufacturers' Association. Profoundly concerned in everything that had to do with the preservation and perpetuation of American liberty, he found in the "Guardians" of Liberty an organization that enlisted his fullest support and coöperation.

His was the sort of Americanism that could not be divided with a hyphen, but ever loyal to our country, he gave to her the best of heart and mind, and in this spared neither purse nor energy. He died at the age of 73 on April 5th, 1914, in Brooklyn, where for some years before his death he made his home.

In politics he was an active Republican and fought with voice and ballot for personal liberty and good government. He was a friend and co-worker with Hon. Seth Low, Hon. George McClellan, Hon. William J. Gaynor and U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hughes.

In his posthumous work "Cassock and Sword" we have the refined fruit of an intellect ripened and enriched by a life of abundant social and intellectual experience. It is the labor of a life time, and into its production went that sort of enthusiasm that makes for conscientious work.

The author was a man of keen mind, broad views, and warm sympathies as well as a good hater of imposture and injustice. It mattered not to him what form these reprehensible human attributes might take, whether in religion or economics, whenever he came in contact with either, his righteous anger was aroused, and in fighting them his warm-

est coöperation and best endeavor could always be counted upon.

When as a young man on a Connecticut farm, he first heard of slavery and its horrors, he conceived a hatred for this institution and forthwith became a zealous abolitionist. Nor did his mind change when the call came to enlist. Without hesitation he entered the ranks of the valiant fighters for our Union and with the heroes of the greatest of all conflicts measured swords with the Southern enemy.

His military and journalistic friends and well wishers will welcome this product of his painstaking labors, and in the pages of "Cassock and Sword" they will again hear his vibrant voice, and be held in the spell of his splendid oratory.

To praise this final achievement of a life so rich in accomplishment were a presumption. "Cassock and Sword" is given to the world that it may judge of its worth and we think be bettered by its perusal. The author has done his work and done it well, and whether on the field of battle or in the quiet of his study, his one ambition was and remained to his death, loyalty to a high ideal.

PREFACE

All progress of the human race has involved a martyrdom of the flesh and of the spirit. Real progress is effected when great moral ideas conceived by advanced thinkers become the property of large masses and are translated into political action. This process creates a collision between the progressive and reactionary forces and entails terrible suffering on the part of both individuals and entire nations. Hence are the pages of history written in blood.

Christianity, teaching the humane in religion; the Reformation proclaiming the right of free thought; the struggle of the Netherlands for independence and the foundation of modern democracy; the English and American revolutions, aiming to achieve equal political rights for all men; the emancipation of the slaves during the past generation; every one of these mighty moral or political evolutions of mankind shook the framework of society to its foundation; and success was only achieved amidst the ruins of former ideals and institutions, and after the shedding of a sea of blood.

To the student of history and careful observer of mankind signs are rapidly multiplying that the human race is again entering an era of fundamental social changes.

Shall it be an era of gradual progress which is to replace materialism with humanity, this being the new gospel that, at the dawn of the twentieth century, governs the thought of the philosopher?

Or shall it be a volcanic upheaval of society, a destructive rising of the masses, a general negation of all systems of religion and of government, and of the social and economic teachings now prevailing, and the setting up of economic tenets leading to anarchy and ultimately to military despotism? Or shall it be a revolt of the intellectual class to secure for itself moral and political leadership and at the same time for the masses the full enjoyment of the fruits of liberty? And shall this revolt too prove triumphant only through the policy of "Blood and Iron?"

Shall it be an era of spiritual darkness under the despotism of the Roman theocracy, a falling back into a state of idolatry, a division of society into the very rich and the very poor, the luxurious enjoyment of things earthly to the one and to the other spiritual and economic enslavement with a promise of honey and manna in the hereafter? Shall Christian civilization share the fate of ancient Greece and Rome?

So far as mortal can judge from great historical events, Providence has assigned to the American people a tremendous rôle and an advanced position in the progress of the human race toward a higher and better condition. The time may be nigh when the American people must again decide, whether they will continue to accomplish their mission in the spirit of past achievements, or whether in the future they will sustain the morally reactionary and anti-social forces that for centuries have retarded the progress of the human race in the direction of the humane, in other words, that have prevented the realization of the brotherhood of man.

From the Migration of the Pilgrims to the War of Independence, from the Establishment of the Republic to the War of the Rebellion, the American people were true to their humane mission; they have filled the pages of history with many heroic deeds and marshaled the army of events against mediæval superstition and despotism.

But now this age of democratic progress appears to have grown old and is longing for rest after having produced many wonderful material results, as well as genuine triumphs of science and inventions, though sadly lacking in the humane. The question arises whether suffering from spiritual exhaustion, and crushed by the yoke of plutocracy and theocracy, it will sink into the grave, or whether it will experience a new and more glorious birth either by the peaceful progress of society or by a convulsive eruption like that of 1792. Two historical events, the clerical revolution of the 16th century and the French revolution of the 18th century, which overthrew the spiritual, economic, and social despotism of the Papacy and of the ancient régime, have taught us what we may expect when wealth, the ruling power at the dawn of the twentieth century, denies the natural right of intelligence to rule over society or attempts to stifle the holy flame of spiritual and political liberty and to

repress the democratic masses who have come to understand their rights and are becoming cognizant of their power.

Foreseeing the coming of a possibly fateful crisis this book has been written to remind the American people of the lessons of history and impress upon them the sacred trust with which the great American democracy has been charged through racial traditions and the heritage of the Reformation, as yet the greatest achievement of the human spirit.

It is the duty and province of the intellectual class, of our clergy, and of our universities to preserve these traditions, to enlarge the spiritual, economic, and social achievements of the Reformation and to apply its precepts to the development of American society that its progress toward an ideal democracy may be orderly and of beneficent character. And it is the special duty of our women to leaven with light and sweetness, and inspire with fortitude, the ever onward struggling mass of humanity and defend the sacred ties of the family which is the solid, immovable foundation rock of the structure of democratic institutions.

May the mothers of the growing generations in whose keeping we must leave the fate of the great American democracy, and probably that of all mankind, teach their sons that liberty is worth dying for and set constantly before them the glorious example of the heroes of the Reformation, of our race and nation who suffered and perished for their faith and for righteousness, their Creator's command.

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS

PART I

THE EXPULSION OF THE PAPACY FROM EUROPE

CHAPTER	PAGE
I CHRISTIANITY AND THE TEUTON RACE	1
II THE REFORMATION	18
III THE STRUGGLE OF RACES OVER THE PAPACY	40

PART II

THE GREAT AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

I THE GREAT AMERICAN DEMOCRACY	66
--	----

PART III

THE FOUNDATION OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

I THE WAR OF THE REBELLION AND ITS EFFECT ON AMERICAN SOCIETY	92
II THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY	111

PART IV

THE ANARCHICAL CONDITION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

I DEFECTS IN THE ORGANIC STRUCTURE OF THE REPUBLIC .	127
II MUNICIPALITIES	147
III MORAL AND SOCIAL DEFECTS AND THEIR CAUSES . . .	156

PART V

PAPAL SOVEREIGNTY IN THE UNITED STATES

I THE CHARACTER AND GROWTH OF THE ROMAN ESTABLISHMENT	166
II THE ANTI-CATHOLIC MOVEMENT	178

CONTENTS

PART VI

OUR ULTRAMONTANE PARTY AND ROME'S AUXILIARIES

CHAPTER	PAGE
I A JESUITICAL POLICY. MANY CAUSES CONTRIBUTED TO THE GROWTH OF ROMANISM ON AMERICAN SOIL . .	186
II REACHING OUT FOR THE PRESIDENCY	194
III THE CHURCH OF THE POOR, ILLITERATE AND MORALLY DE- GRADED	201

PART VII

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND ROME

I ROMAN AGGRESSIONS AND HYPOCRITICAL PROFESSIONS .	204
II CLERICALISM OR DEMOCRACY	213

PART VIII

LEO XIII AND THE MODERN EVOLUTION OF THE PAPACY

I PAPAL HOPE AND PAPAL DELUSION	220
II LEO XIII	227
III THE EVOLUTION OF POPE LEO'S POLICY	234

PART IX

CHRISTIAN UNION, PAPAL AMBITION AND THE PROTESTANT MASSES

I THE AIMS OF LEO XIII	243
II LEO'S SPIRITUAL WILL AND TESTAMENT	246
III CELIBACY AND THE SHAM CONCESSIONS OF THE VATICAN .	250
IV IS THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF AMERICA A POSSIBILITY? .	253
V THE MISSION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH .	258
VI THE TRANSFORMATION IN PROTESTANT BELIEF	263
VII THE WANING OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES	267
VIII THE PROTESTANT CLERGY AND THEIR DEPENDENT POSITION	269
IX THE WORKINGMEN AND THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES . .	275

PART X

FROM ROME TO WASHINGTON

I AN AMERICAN PATRIMONIUM PETRI	278
II PRESIDENT AND PONTIFEX	284

CONTENTS

PART XI

THE MISSION OF OUR DEPUTY POPES

CHAPTER	PAGE
I ROMAN DIPLOMACY, CUNNING, INSOLENT, AND DULPLICITY	291
II THE AMERICAN SALOON AND JESUITICAL MORALITY . . .	302
III LEO'S ENCYCLICAL ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS	306

PART XII

THE SOCIAL QUESTION AND THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

I THE ORGANIZATION AND EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY	309
II INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM, CAPITALISM, AND ANARCHISM .	321
III THE AMERICAN FARMER AND WORKINGMAN	330
IV SOCIALISM	335
V THE SUBLIME MISSION OF OUR UNIVERSITIES	344

CASSOCK AND SWORD

PART I

THE EXPULSION OF THE PAPACY FROM EUROPE

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY AND THE TEUTON RACE

SECTION I

Christianity as a Social Force. Religion represents in the life of nations their emotions and humane tendencies. Religious systems are the creation of the intellect, and in their structure are influenced and modified by environments. Religion represents in the heart and life of man that which is characteristic of his race. Therefore in the life of peoples their religious manifestations and their political aspirations are inter-dependent and inseparable and must be considered in their relation and entirety.

In the beginning, Christianity, as a religious system, was a modification of Judaism, reviving some of its democratic and socialistic features on which, before the development of theocracy, the Mosaic system had partly rested. With the absorption of the Hebrew tribes into the Roman empire, the time had come when the fundamental truths of Judaism and their exposition by profound thinkers were to be revealed to the civilized world. During the century preceding the advent of Christ the Judean race was filled with Messianic expectations. The evils brought upon the people of Judea by their conquerors, the greediness and immorality of the high priests, and the bitter strife of the religious-political parties had revived within the nation's soul the memory of the Divine promise of a Messiah who should deliver Israel from the foreign yoke and internal woes. The ultra-nationalists expected the

Messiah to drive the hated Roman from the sacred soil, the orthodox of the school of Shammai deemed that he would purge the faith from heathenish innovations, the disciples of the school of Hillel anticipated that he would bring peace on earth and good fellowship with all men.

During this period of Israel's sorrow we may trace in its history all the signs and embodiments of unrest which usually precede a crisis in the life of nations. One of these embodiments was the sect of the Essenes. They were the idealists in Israel. They looked forward to the Messianic era as a fulfilment of the kingdom of heaven. In the high exaltation of idealism they, like many of their successors in history, failed to perceive that time alone is the great leveler of things and men, that the sublime in human nature is a favor of nature bestowed on the few, and that the weight of a mountain of embellishment and ceremonial tassel hardly suffices to infuse an atom of truth into the intellect and organism of the masses. The Essenes were ascetics who renounced the world and its vanities. They advocated the reconstruction of society on a basis of general poverty, the community of goods, and the negation of one's self. They were not cosmopolitans; they were intensely national, so to say, a combination of Knownothingism and communism, and in philosophical virtues and in the humane far below Hillelism.

The earliest Christians in part followed the precepts of Judaism, observing the Sabbath, the rite of circumcision and the dietary laws. They embraced poverty and frequently lived in common. They were recruited from the lower strata and because of their poverty called tramps or homeless wanderers. In public estimation they only appeared to be a fanatical offshoot of the Essenes.

During the catastrophe which, within two generations of the crucifixion overwhelmed Judea, the insignificant Christian communities undoubtedly would have disappeared under the great wave which swept the chosen people into all the world but for one whose genius and personality were destined to give to Christianity a cosmopolitan garb and to raise it to a preponderant power in the civilized world.

Paul, a converted Jew and Roman citizen, transmitted Christianity to the Hellenic and Roman world. He carried forth the brotherhood of man. His appeal to the down-

trodden and disinherited to come "unto Christ and the brotherhood of man" was heard throughout the Roman world and will be echoed until the masses shall appeal to the Judgment of God. This message embracing all that is humane and the divinely inspired expression of God's fatherly love, of necessity became a disturbing element in the condition of Roman society. Political motives moved the Roman authorities to persecute the Christians. Roman statecraft was tolerant. In religious matters it humored every conquered nation's peculiarities and traditions on the principle: pay your taxes promptly and you may believe whatever you like. Though conquered, the Hebrews refused to be merged in the Roman social system and therefore their loyalty was suspected. The Roman authorities espied in the Christian communities political centers of a rebellious movement of the Hebrews and of the disappointed generally.

When the elemental character of Christianity became known, the Cæsars and the politicians, the priests and the usurers, and the spoilsmen of every kind were alarmed by the aggressiveness and depth of the economic and social forces hidden in the new faith which, unchecked, might level not only the political superstructure of the empire but also overturn its economic foundations. The apostles of Christ and His disciples were of the people and, therefore, in their very personalities a menace to the upper strata of society. Like Jesus, they filled the hearts of the common people, then absolutely without rights of any kind and without property, with the love of God and with faith in the equality of all men before the heavenly Father; they consorted with the lowly and despised; they lived in poverty and in abstinence and, therefore, set themselves and their creed against the prevailing conceptions of the relations of mankind and the principles governing them. In fact, the apostles appealed to the so-called dangerous classes in society, to the ever present revolutionary element in it. Obeying the command of Christ "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things which are God's," the earliest Christians gave no heed to the form of government, though they recognized the necessity of government under which "the things which are God's," His bounties and blessings, by right of inheritance were to be the property of all His children.

SECTION II

Christianity as a Political Establishment. It must always be left to speculation, what might have been the successive stages of Christianity, had its development and its earliest political application taken place within the Teutonic tribes instead of within the decaying civilization of the Roman empire. It may, however, be taken for granted that the humane in Christianity and its doctrine of brotherly love would have developed the sympathetic social order of the Teutonic tribes into an ideal democracy, and that the progress of the human race would have been more rapid and in all probability free from most of the horrors which since have marked its path.

Though Judaism was the cradle of Christianity, with its introduction into the heathen world the new faith placed itself in antagonism to its progenitor and struck out into divergent paths. In its evolution Christianity adapted itself first to the political order of the pagan Roman world; in the course of time with the development of systematic theology and a hierarchical order the new faith lost its distinctive social features and merged into the economic system of the times. Long before the conversion of Emperor Constantine and Christianity's recognition as an established church, it had lost its democratic and social-revolutionary character, which it only partly regained through the Reformation, the struggle of the Netherlands, the English revolution, and the emigration of the Pilgrims.

Constantine, an astute statesman, clearly perceived that the tottering fabric of society could only be upheld and the advance of the barbarians repulsed by the inspiring tendency of a religious movement which had captivated the masses and, at the time, had been relieved of its destructive social and economic features. It offered the additional political advantage of faith in an invisible supreme being absolutely denationalized and the support of a hierarchy and priesthood as yet without an ecclesiastical head and an official position in the organism of the state.

The division of the Roman empire and the schism in the Christian church were closely related to each other. The one made the other possible. Of cosmopolitan character, the Christian church as a state institution under a despotic form of government could only exist as a unit. Through the consolidation of the empire of the East that part of the

church territorially enclosed by it and an integral part of its social-political system, had to accommodate itself to the character and religious history of the Eastern peoples. Since the Byzantine empire early became consolidated and of oriental character the Christian church, within the boundaries of that empire, had to adapt its creed, government and institutions to the political exigencies of the state, and to subordinate its authority to the autocratic will of the worldly ruler. Being utterly subservient to the political power and dependent on it, the Eastern or Greek church ceased to be a civilizing factor in the Western world. In it as a political factor and menacing it, it reasserted itself under Peter the Great with the recognition of the Slavic empire as one of the great Powers of Europe.

SECTION III

The Latin Church and Christian Civilization. The development, crystallization and extension of the Western or Latin church was differently circumstanced. Though enjoying the prestige of having its seat of government in Rome and, therefore, claiming the inherent right to universal dominion, the Western empire had not the cohesiveness of its Eastern rival. The influx of the Teutons and barbarians, the rebellious spirit in the provinces and the general upheaval in society were powerful decentralizing forces favorable to the independent growth of the Christian church and to the retention of the missionary spirit of the apostolic age. Thus for centuries the Latin church escaped the thralldom of centralized political power, of subserviency to dynastic interests, and of nationalization during a period of dissolution in the political world due to the adverse influences of a dying civilization. During the times of violence and convulsion covering the disruption of the Western empire, the establishment of new political bodies and the reorganization of society under the supremacy of the Teutonic race, the persistency springing from the cosmopolitan character of the Christian church saved mankind from a relapse into barbarism and chaos. Out of the social order of the Teutonic race and from the ethical traditions of the Greek and Roman worlds, the Church evolved the culture of the Christian age.

In the infancy of the new political bodies the Church acted a mother's part, protecting the masses against the

assaults and oppressions of the mighty and civilization against the aggressions of the barbarians. The Church inspired the new organic bodies with the intellectual and emotional forces from which all progress flows. In a certain sense, the Latin church inherited and embodied the Roman idea of universal dominion, though in a Christian sense this could not mean a lording of the things earthly but a spiritual rule through faith in a higher life and the application of the doctrine of brotherly love, the fountain of all moral laws. Immense and manifold were the blessings which for nearly a thousand years the Church bestowed on mankind. In its basic idea rooted in democracy and in its organization purely intellectual, the Church was well equipped to repel the spirit of anarchism and to direct the creation of a new social order, on which it impressed Christianity in the manner adapted to the spiritual, moral, and intellectual life of the converted peoples and the economic and political exigencies of the times. During the long and always violent process of reorganization of society the Church upheld, as an article of faith and doctrine, the spiritual equality of man, and, therefore, was a true guardian of the masses and saved mankind from a relapse into the rigor and inhumanity of castes.

So long as the Latin church was filled with the apostolic spirit and therefore preserved in its organism and government the democratic spirit descendant from the earliest Christians, so long did it retain its hold on the Teutonic nations. The spiritual democracy of Christianity had blended easily with the social and political democracy of the Teuton tribes. The causal relations of these agencies not only promoted the conversion of the Teutons to Christianity, but also tended to make them the most devoted and zealous defenders of the Church, and engendered that deep and sincere religious feeling which outlived centuries of spiritual darkness and blasphemy.

The dissolution of the empire of Charlemagne marked the period of the highest spiritual attainments of the Latin church. Until then it fulfilled its apostolate. It had planted the Christian faith in the hearts of a people destined to be the standard bearer of a new civilization and withal the one best qualified to assimilate and spread Christian truths and fully to evolve and exert their humanizing agencies.

SECTION IV

The Political Papacy. With the dismemberment of the empire of Charlemagne, the consolidation and growth of the Latin nations, and the acquisition of the *Patrimonium Petri* the political Papacy came into being. From the date that the Bishop of Rome became an independent sovereign of a temporality, the Church's discipline and government, and with it the spirit animating it, underwent a fundamental change. The Latin hierarchy ceased to be a democratic body, and the ecumenical council to be the sole and supreme authority in matters of faith and church government.

Until the birth of the political Papacy as a co-ordinate power of the temporal authorities, the Church's relations to Christendom had been that of a mother to her flock. A mother's intellectual and spiritual being grows with the mental faculties and spiritual development of her children. She is their counsellor and their guide unto the grave, and even after death, she commands their love. Her influence is eternal because she transmits it to the mothers of coming generations. A father's influence commonly ceases whenever his offspring arrive at maturity of judgment. It is the law of evolution that every generation accepts as a matter of right and therefore, without gratitude, the achievements of the preceding one. Maternal love alone is without end. It is unchangeable and true. When the Church, through its subordination to the Papacy, adopted the harsh treatment of a father, it severed the tender ties of maternal and filial love.

While the kings of Germany exercised an authoritative influence over the election of the Bishop of Rome, the Papacy could not relieve itself from worldly responsibility; nor could it claim supreme political authority as the representative of Deity. With the assumption of Metropolitan functions as the pretended successors of St. Peter, the Bishops of Rome claimed ecclesiastical supremacy over the Christian church. After the acquisition of the *Patrimonium Petri* this claim was gradually enlarged to the spiritual and temporal supremacy over the rulers and nations of the earth. From the historical event of that German emperor's supplication in the court-yard of Canossa to the proclamation of the dogma of the Papal infallibility, the Papacy ever sought as its one goal the establishment of a uni-

versal theocracy in which his Holiness the Pope was to be worshiped as the plenary representative of Jehovah and his ablegates as national demigods.

To gain its objective point the Papacy organized the most wonderful and the most dangerous ecclesiastical and political machine the world has ever beheld. Despotism and absolutism, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, are supported by mercenaries who have nothing in common with the peoples whom they keep in subjugation or superstition. Universal theocracy is not possible with a priesthood bound by tender ties to the peoples and inter-dependent thereof. The very being of the married priest as the father of a family is rooted in the society and nation of which his family is a part and to which it owes allegiance. With the enforcement of celibacy the Papacy completed its theocratic structure, and thence it became a menace to mankind, to the peace of nations and of families, a fountain of corruption and of superstition, a barrier to the progress of the human race, and a living negation of the teachings of Christ. The Latin church ceased to be Christian in spirit and in its organization and changed into an ecclesiastical—social—political machine, into a Tammany Hall, an organism of gigantic proportions for the spoliation of Christendom and the aggrandizement of a new *Pontifex Maximus* and of his court, known as the Papal camarilla, an ecclesiastical body in its character denationalized, yet not cosmopolitan, frigid and paganized, irresponsible and perpetual. *Romanism was born. The Papal Bull decreeing celibacy covered humanity with a dismal shadow now slowly creeping also over our land.*

SECTION V

The Teutons, the Latin Church, and Celibacy. The social order of the Teutonic race rooted in the family, their moral code drew its inspiration from the family, their nationality had been evolved from the family. With their conversion to Christianity the family, as a social and political institution, or unit, was given a divine character, and their national life shaped into being. Before, the Germanic tribes had but the cohesion of common descent and of material desires; but now the humane in Christianity became the binding element in their national existence. When, therefore, the Roman church removed its represen-

tatives from the influences of the family, and that of the nation, and set up a deformity in the theocratic priesthood, it ran counter to the ethies of the Teutonic peoples, to their conception of the manifest truths of Christianity and to their evangelical faith.

The tribes of Judea were bound together in their faith. So were the Teutonic tribes welded into nations through their faith in Christ which to them was inseparable from every phase of their existence from the cradle to the grave. The national life of the Teutonic tribes had its source in Christ, therefore their religious desires were clothed in a national garb and altogether interwoven with their national life. The social and political precepts of morality of the Teutonic race were identical with the ethies of Christianity and were not the outgrowth of the rules and formalities of an established church. Therefore when the Roman church established rules and created conditions, in spirit and in application not in accord with the moral code and social order of the Teutonic race and proclaimed as matters of faith that which was foreign to Christian ethies, the church ceased to be the keeper of the conscience of the Germanic nations. The institution of celibacy called forth the Reformation; with the proclamation of the dogma of infallibility a struggle commenced which will close either with the downfall of Papacy or with the annihilation of the German and Anglo-Saxon nations.

SECTION VI

Pontifex Maximus. For centuries the Bishop of Rome was only the equal of his brethren in episcopal office. The schism in the Church, Pepin's gift of the *Patrimonium Petri*, and later on the fatal desire of the kings of Germany to be crowned successors of the Roman Cæsars attached to the Bishopric of Rome a political importance which ultimately led to the usurpation of supreme ecclesiastical authority. The kings of Germany claiming and for centuries exercising the right of investiture of the Bishopric of Rome thought it politic to favor this process of ecclesiastical aggrandizement. Judged by the experience of a thousand years, their policy was a fatal error.

At a time when peoples emerged from barbarism, when the educated were few, the masses unable to reason, the belief in the supernatural was general and all the avenues

leading to intelligence in possession of the priesthood, such a policy could have only the one result—to subordinate the temporal powers to the spiritual. Directing the conscience of the superstitious and ignorant masses, whose only excuse for existence lay in the promise of recompense in the hereafter, the fulfilment of which rested with the priests, they, of course, as the representatives of the Deity, could be counted upon also to direct the political affairs of the communities, in which the government and the constitution of society were held to be of divine origin. A priesthood living in celibacy and gathered into a caste absolutely dependent on a supreme ecclesiastical authority, will not alone exploit the political but also the material interests of the people for the benefit of that authority. Thus a state within a state is created. Eventually one will control the other or become a coördinate power, inasmuch as the ruling classes, to preserve their privileges and to continue the exploitation of the governed, are more or less dependent on the priesthood to keep the masses superstitious, ignorant and submissive, and thus economically and politically dependent.

A political motive of vital importance to the welfare and unity of Germany excited the ambition of her kings to be crowned Emperors of Rome. When the Bishop of Rome laid claim to the succession to the apostolate of St. Peter, inferentially he also laid claim to the succession to the temporal powers of the *Pontifex Maximus*. Therefore it became a necessity with the German kings, if they were to retain their authority within their own realm, to dispute the Pontifical claim and to explode it by enforcing their investment by the claimant with the insignia of the Cæsars. Controlling the conscience of the Christian world and a numerous dependent priesthood in the opponent's camp, the struggle between the Papacy commanding these advantages, and royalty, wielding only scepter and sword, closed with the discomfiture of the kings. *Thenceforth, the Popes as the vicars of Christ, claimed not only spiritual supremacy over Christendom but also the custodianship of the moral and political conscience of the world. On this assumption the Papacy and the entire structure of the Roman church are reared. On this assumption it rests to-day and, likewise, the Papal policy of NON POSSUMUS.*

SECTION VII

The Papal Camarilla. When the Roman church made the Pope another *Pontifex Maximus*, it ceased to be evangelical and was transformed into a baptized paganism, it ceased to be in harmony with the spiritual desires, the in-born morality and cultural life of the Teutonic race and, therefore, with their political life. It continued, the while, to be in agreement with the racial qualities of the Latin nations, who during the long period of their political formation and consolidation had preserved the traditions and moral and political precepts of pagan and imperial Rome.

The transformation of the Latin church into Romanism made unavoidable the strife for the political mastery between the peoples of the Teutonic race on the one side and the Papacy and the nations of the Latin race on the other. Ever present and of centuries' duration, under one form or another, this conflict has been maintained to our times, and in the nearest future may become irrepressible on American soil. It has been marked on the tablets of history with the tragic fate of the Hohenstaufen, the execution of its youthful scion Conradin, the mediæval crusades, the Reformation, the horrid butcheries of Philip II and the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the emigration of the Pilgrims, the execution of Maria Stuart and Charles I, the English revolution, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the assassination of Henry IV, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the 'Thirty-years' and the Seven-years' wars, the capture of Louisburg, Waterloo and Sedan. It has been marked with millions of graves, with the ruins of cities, with devastation and pestilence and nameless cruelties in many countries. May the ominous cloud now rising on our political firmament pass away without bringing to us all manner of woe!

From Canossa to Wittenberg the Papacy triumphed over the genius of the Teutonic race, causing infinite misery to the Christian peoples. Like a poisonous vapor it spread its immorality over the civilized world, and under its universal theocratic despotism the light of Nazareth was nearly extinguished.

To divert the attention of the peoples from its designs on their conscience and rights, more easily to prevail over

the martial political powers, and to compel the Eastern church to submit to its yoke, the Papacy imposed on Christianity the crusades and thus caused the wanton slaughter of hundreds of thousands of the flower of Christendom and the counter invasion of Europe by the Turks and the fall of Constantinople. To sap the military and thus the aggressive powers of the worldly rulers and force them into submission the Papacy favored the feudal system and the disruption of nations whereby the masses were enslaved and reduced to the level of the beasts of burden; it invited rebellion and assassination; it commended perjury, rebellion, and anarchy, relieving individuals and nations of their oaths of allegiance. It urged upon the heathen to war upon Christian neighbors, it fostered ignorance, superstition and blasphemy to increase the Church's temporalities and riches; its rapacity knew no bounds; it sold indulgences for crimes committed and to be committed, and its general policy was so atrocious that nothing in history approaches it—all these *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, that is, ostensibly “to the greater Glory of God” but in verity to satisfy the lust of power and riches of the Roman camarilla. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the Papal court and clergy had sunk down to the lowest depth of moral depravity. Octopus-like the camarilla had embraced with its slimy arms the civilized world and drained the nations of their life-blood. It had steeped the body politic in superstition and corruption, misery and poverty, it had blighted and nearly destroyed the spiritual life of nations and covered the Church of the Apostles with the mold of paganism.

SECTION VIII

The Reformation Foreshadowed. History teaches that every evil bears within itself the germ of rectification. Out of the sins of the Roman camarilla the Reformation was born. The Crusades brought to western Europe the higher civilization of the Orient and the literary treasures of ancient Greece and Rome. They were the cause of a new epoch in literature and research. Universities were established and from these gradually a new spiritual life spread over the Christian world.

During the fourteenth century royalty in France had achieved the mastery over the feudal lords and reduced

the Papal power to a coördinate position and the French hierarchy to dependency in matters temporal. The French kings as the foremost representatives of the Latin race, were reaching out for the inheritance of Charlemagne. They were, therefore, deeply interested in the stability of the Papacy and its ability to continue the policy of sapping or usurping the political power of Germany and of confining that of England. They clearly perceived that in its demoralized condition the Church was threatened with perpetual schism and the Papacy menaced in its very existence. Under the prevailing political conditions a split in the Church most probably would lead to the establishment of national churches and thus deprive France of all the political benefits arising from her close relations with the Papacy. Moreover, the anarchical condition of society alarmed the privileged classes of all nations as to the economic and social consequences of a religious upheaval which in all probability could not be confined to matters spiritual.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century the University of Paris, then the foremost educational institution in Europe and cosmopolitan in its character, assailed the Papacy and hierarchy and the corruption and pagan outgrowth of the Church, not in a reformatory spirit but as a matter of state policy and in the interests of the ruling classes. The agitation for Church reform spread over Europe. The reformatory movements of Wickliffe and Huss impressed the worldly powers and many members of the hierarchy with the necessity of immediate reformatory action. When, therefore, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, three Popes, of whom one, *Balthasar Cossa*, had been a pirate before his elevation to the Vicarship of Christ, claimed simultaneously the succession of St. Peter, the council of Constance was called.

SECTION IX

John Wickliffe, England and Rome. In the fourteenth century John Wickliffe of Oxford preached the doctrine of predestination, which in its conception and deductions is negatory of priestly intervention in the relations of man to his Creator, and therefore of theocracy. In his denunciation of the Roman Church as the "synagogue of the devil" and of the Papacy as an abomination, Wickliffe disclosed the political or rather racial aims of his reformatory

movement, the first of a religious-political character foreshadowing the Reformation.

Wickliffe's movement fixed a period in the growth of England's national life during which the Norman was slowly to retire and the Saxon destined to rule. When William the Conqueror supplanted the social order of the Saxons with the Gallic system of feudalism and with the autocratic government of the Latin race, the ship of state immediately drifted into a channel made tumultuous by two opposing tides: the spirit of Norman baronism or feudalism on one side and the spirit of Saxon freedom on the other. The marriage of Henry I, son of the Conqueror, to Ethel, the Saxon descendant of Alfred, saved England from a war of races and from anarchy and led to the growth of a social-political system which united the conservative properties and economic advantages of feudalism with the democratic institutions of the Saxons. On this amalgamation rests England's political, industrial and commercial greatness and the character of the Anglican church.

The Saxon spirit forced Henry II to decree that all men should be equal before the law. The revolt of the barons under the government of Henry III against the autocratic power of the crown was a covert attempt at feudalism for supremacy. During the civil war which followed the abridgment of the royal prerogatives, part of which had been delegated to a committee of bishops and barons, the Saxon spirit prevailed in the calling of a Parliament, in which, for the first time, representatives of the people,—knights, citizens, and burghers,—sat and deliberated with the barons, bishops and abbots. When Edward I affixed his signature to the statute of the confirmation of the charters, constitutional government was born, because the statute provided that the Commons of England alone were to raise the supplies which should sustain the crown. This signature also made unavoidable the separation from theocratic Rome. After this it was only a question of time.

From the marriage of Henry I to Ethel until Edward's renunciation of autocratic power, from the promulgation of the Papal Bull which condemned the *Magna Charta* to the translation of the Bible by Wickliffe and his denunciation of Romanism, four centuries, the struggle had lasted between theocracy and the moral forces of the Teutonic race, between the Norman spirit of conquest and

despotism and the spirit and power as well as the memory of the ancient *Witena-gemôt*, the Saxon representative body which had elected kings and in which the Saxon's reverence for law had its source. With the dethronement of Richard II by Parliament, the Teuton doctrines of self-government and of the right to revolution were reëstablished and the Anglo-Saxon had triumphed. Under Cromwell and the Pilgrims these doctrines were made precepts of religion.

One of the first acts of the enlarged Parliament was the inhibition of the payment of the royal and state tributes to the Papal court. Though in England the Church had not possessed itself of so large a proportion of the land as in Germany and other countries, it being more equally divided between the ecclesiastics and the Norman Conquerors, yet, in the fifteenth century, the land question became of vital importance to the Saxon burghers and yeomanry and to the crown. Therefore, excesses against the property of the Church were ignored by the crown and lightly punished. Wickliffeism might already then have led to the separation from Rome and to the establishment of a National Church but for the political necessities of Henry IV and Henry V which enforced a reactionary policy in church matters and the persecution of Wickliffeism. Moreover, the art of printing had not been discovered, and the translated Bible was a priceless treasure in the hands of the few. Yet, as soon as it became the common possession of the people, the indomitable spirit of Saxon liberty threw off the incubus of Papacy which weighed most heavily on the conscience and resources of the nation; it threw off the most execrable and ruthless tyrant—theocracy.

SECTION X

John Huss and his Religious-Political Movement. The reformatory movement of John Huss in the beginning of the fifteenth century, though also of a religious character, was essentially an attempt at national independence. Like Wickliffe he was moved by the democratic spirit of the primitive church in his assaults on Rome. While his religious convictions did not reach the breadth and depth of those of his predecessor, in his social and political deductions from the doctrine of predestination, which he also held, Huss went far beyond the English reformer.

They were, considering the times, of a revolutionary character. From this doctrine Huss deducted the political axiom that the people were not bound to obey popes and kings and persons in authority who had committed mortal sin, that is, he denied entirely the church doctrine of the divine order of ecclesiastical and secular government.

At that time, when the masses were all together unfitted for self-government or to take any part in the direction of affairs, the practical application of this axiom would have led to anarchy and barbarism. For these reasons Huss' movement encountered not only the opposition of the clergy and upper classes, but also that of the learned and cultured of all Europe, and caused twenty thousand students to leave the University of Prague, next to that of Paris, the most important educational institution in the Christian world of that day.

Brought up in the most ascetic manner and deeply imbued with patriotic principles, Huss combined in his personality the qualities of the fanatic and partisan. While he assailed the Church he also attempted to establish the political supremacy of his race—the Czechs who, in their racial character had and to-day have, much in common with the Irish, and were then only emerging from barbarism and were held in subjugation by their conquerors, the Germans. Of an inferior race and, before the conquest, from time immemorial the slaves of feudal lords, the Czechs, as a people, were not fitted to assimilate the humane with their gross, treacherous and superstitious nature and therefore were not qualified to become the standard-bearers of an ecclesiastical or political reformation. The success of Huss' movement would have built up a theocracy entirely devoid of humanity, barbaric and despotic in its character and destructive to the spirit of progress which then commenced to spread from the universities and which alone a century later made the Reformation possible. The enormous fruition of Greek thought in the intellectual life of the European world might have been nipped in the bud.

SECTION XI

The Council of Constance and the Hohenzollern. All things considered, at the dawn of the fourteenth century, the Emperor of Germany as King of Bohemia, the kings of France and England and society generally were deeply

interested in the reformation of the Church. Their united efforts resulted in the calling of a general council of the Church, that of Constance.

This, the largest, most splendid and numerous attended council of the Roman Church, deposed two rival Popes, charged with and convicted of the most heinous crimes, and recognized as the true Vicar of Christ Alexander V, of whom Catholic historians have said, that he was the greatest rascal of the times. The Council condemned the heresies of Huss and Wickliffe. It decreed the execution of the one and the disinterment of the other and the cremation of his remains. Otherwise, the Council accomplished nothing. The time, as yet, was not ripe for the great religious, economic and social upheaval, the Reformation.

Nevertheless fate willed it that the Council of Constance should be the cause of the downfall of the Papacy; that Papal depravity which necessitated its calling, should also necessitate the mortgaging of a German province—the Mark Brandenburg of which Berlin is the Capital—by Emperor Sigismund to meet the expenses of the Council. Count Hohenzoller, Burggraf of Nuremberg, advanced one hundred thousand gold florins and took possession of the “Mark” because the Emperor could not redeem it.

Thus the house of Hohenzollern, until then of political insignificance, entered into German and European politics and into history.

CHAPTER II

THE REFORMATION

SECTION I

Papal Depravity, Anarchy and Despair. During the fifteenth century an overpowering, mysterious feeling prevailed among the German people of a portentous catastrophe which in the near future was to overwhelm society. This feeling became stronger as the religious, social and political conditions grew more and more intolerable.

The ever recurring evils brought upon the people by the debasement and rapacity of the Papal camarilla and of the hierarchy, the incessant friction between almost independent communities and feudal lords, the cruel despotism of the hundreds of more or less sovereign rulers of the principalities and temporalities which divided Germany, the ever declining power of the Emperor, the anarchical condition of the empire, the depression of trade and industry harassed by constant warfare, the indescribably miserable condition of the serfs brutalized by centuries of oppression, and the retrograde morals of society corrupted by Rome, had aroused a longing for a deliverer to so high a pitch that any intensely patriotic individual imbued with moral courage and the ethics of his race, and of the warrior or learned estate, might inspire the nation with the fervor of religious and political revolution. This ardent longing for a deliverer, and the belief in his early advent, swayed all classes of the people except the princes and those who clung to Rome. The patriotic legends of the reappearance of Emperor Barbarossa, the great "Hohenstaufen" and implacable foe of Rome, gave expression to this longing for a deliverer and to the conviction, deeply imbedded in the nation's soul, that the practices of the Papacy were at the bottom of Germany's misfortunes.

With the dissolution of the Council of Constance, the last hope of a reformation of the Church from within had vanished. It had been clearly demonstrated that the hier-

archy and the governing classes were opposed to all measures of a progressive nature adversely affecting their interests or curtailing their privileges. The Council of Constance further demonstrated the impotency and immobility of the imperial government, the sloth, selfishness, and venality of the princes temporal, the pro-Romanism and disloyalty of the princes spiritual, and laid bare in all their hideousness the paganism, corruption, simony, and immorality of the Papacy and hierarchy. It had become evident that the Church and State were past the possibility of peaceful reformation, and that society, so far as it included the upper classes, was inwardly beset with incurable ills, and that its dissolution was merely a question of time.

SECTION II

The Bible, the German Empire, Universities and Priests. The century following the Council of Constance was marked by events destined to become decisive factors in the advancement of the human race, effecting such a change in the intellectual and economic relations of all classes to each other and to the body politic that the most profound thinkers of the times devoted their thoughts to a spiritual, political, and economic reorganization of society. This threefold movement was clothed in a religious garb and drew its inspiration from the Bible because at the time all things were thought to be of Divine origin, and the invention of the art of printing had just then made the Bible generally available for research. Moreover, through Gutenberg's invention, the light of reason and the thoughts of philosophers, for centuries confined within the walls of monasteries and universities, were spread and transplanted into every-day life. From cloister-shades and the universities the study of the ancient Greek literature and, therefore, a new spiritual life was spreading over the Christian world.

As the excessively large number of students by the tens of thousands crowding the seats of learning had already produced a body of learned proletarians who found no proper lodgment in the social scale, these naturally became hostile to the existing order and ever ready to further a reorganization of society. These learned proletarians—with few exceptions clerks,—were the tramps of

their times. Singly and in groups, wandering from place to place, they were fanning the embers of discontent among the middle class, and, with the masses, they undermined all ecclesiastical and temporal authority. In addition to these bearers of prophetic warnings of a coming deluge, thousands of priests and monks hoped for a thorough, even revolutionary change in matters ecclesiastical and political. Of all countries, Germany was the most Romanized and priest-ridden, the one suffering most from the excrescences of the Roman church. The Papacy had a larger and stronger hold on Germany than on any other country because the German hierarchy was clothed with temporal authority and possessed political privileges and prerogatives which subjected the imperial government and the national legislature to Papal intervention.

At the time of the Reformation the government of Germany consisted of a King elected by certain princes spiritual and temporal, called princely electors—*Churfuersten*—and a parliament, in which all the rulers of principalities, the higher nobility, and the free cities were represented. A number of bishops and arch-bishops whose sees included temporal sovereignties, were members of the electoral college and also, with many of their episcopal brethren, abbots and priors, seated in parliament. The German ecclesiastics, therefore, constituted an important faction of the national legislature, the more so, because the mode of voting was by estates. The richest and most fertile provinces of Germany, including many of the largest cities, were under ecclesiastical rule. The ecclesiastical authority of these spiritual princes extending over the domains of their worldly neighbors, part of their revenues were turned as fees and tithes into the pockets of the former. With the decline of the royal or imperial power and the growth of the abuses within the Church, the large benefices, bishoprics, and archbishoprics, including the electorates, were sold by the Papal camarilla to the highest bidder, to the scions of the higher aristocracy, to adventurers and charlatans whose fortunes were often the harvest of a criminal or shady career. Thus the knavish, immoral and ignorant, often without priestly orders, were made princes, bishops and abbots of the Church, and electors and members of parliament. As an example it may be mentioned that the prince-bishop of Prague, the one who excommunicated

Huss, at the investiture was unable to read and write. To the credit of this prince of the Church it must be said that he had almost mastered the rudiments of learning, when he sat in judgment over the great heretic.

During centuries of Roman corruption, the lower clergy in Germany had to a degree retained the dignity of their calling and preserved the national traditions and virtues. When, therefore, with the introduction of Greek thought and the study of ancient history a new intellectual life was manifesting itself, the German lower clergy, cut off from all advancement in their holy calling by the simony of the Papal camarilla, rebelled against the tyranny of the German hierarchy, its pro-Romanism in all matters temporal, and its subserviency to the interests of the Latin nations in giving aid and comfort to the sinister designs of France and Spain. The lower clergy were of the middle class and well qualified to judge correctly of their country's need. The priests traced the political impotency of the imperial government, all the curses of parliamentarism which had built up the overbearing insolence of the Papacy, the everlasting feuds of particularistic cliques and estates, the anarchical condition of the empire, and the foreign intervention in its internal affairs, directly to the dependent position of the German hierarchy as the creature and tool of a foreign power, of the Papal court in Rome.

Papal and not German interests controlled the electoral college, the parliament, the empire's relations with foreign powers, the government of municipalities, the draft and negotiation of treaties, the guilds and the conditions of labor, commerce and industry. Priestly interference for the exclusive benefit of the Roman camarilla was met with in all the walks and conditions of life. It was this policy of interference, dictated by Rome, which aroused the opposition of the patriotic lower clergy.

Starting in a small way under the mask of paternal fondness and solicitude for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the flock, and with the lullaby of admiration for the constitution of the empire and its people, and with the growth of cities, the Papal authority had gradually overshadowed Germany and enslaved her government and people.

SECTION III

The Economic and Moral Causes of the Reformation.

For centuries the cities of Germany were the great distributing points of the world's commerce and industry. Through the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards commerce was diverted into other channels. The extraordinary influx of precious metals from India and America changed the standard of values and caused rapid fluctuations in prices and in the fortunes of the burghers already experiencing the loss of commercial and industrial supremacy. With the dawn of the sixteenth century a financial crisis swept over Germany. In addition to these violent disturbances in her economies the land question had come to be of vital economic and political import to the whole nation and its immediate solution imperatively demanded by the distressing financial condition of the national and state governments and of every community, also by the class-interests of the commercial and industrial bodies.

At the close of the fifteenth century the church owned in Germany over two-thirds of the arable, wooded, and improved land, free from all taxes and encumbrances. It monopolized nearly all the high-ways and by-ways of communication and exacted heavy tolls and fees of one kind or another from trade and industry. It drained the financial resources of the nation and diverted them from active employment in its affairs into the bottomless coffers of the Papal Court. Thus the burdens of state lay heavily and exclusively on the impoverished landed aristocracy and on industry and commerce under anarchical conditions, unfavorable to the protection of the sources of the nation's economic existence or to their systematic and remunerative development.

The decrees of the Council of Constance and the fact of its fruitless labor the Papacy had interpreted as a renewal of its license to enlarged outrages on the moral sense and the peace and welfare of the Christian community. The church became more and more paganized, demoralized, brutalized. What depth of depravity is revealed in letting and subletting the sale of indulgences to the highest bidder! All restraint of wisdom and discretion was thrown aside by the rulers of the church, all moral considerations were ignored. Whilst society was at the brink of vice

and ruin, while the masses faced starvation, for it is a historical fact that hundreds of thousands knew not a filling meal and lived in squalor and wretchedness, the tax-gatherers of Rome traversed the Christian World to extort the last farthing from the poor and to exploit the rich. With flying banners and trumpet blasts the Papal agents conducting the sale of indulgences moved from mart to mart challenging the outraged conscience of a Christian nation. Thus the Papal Court, at the time the most depraved and luxurious in the Christian or heathen world, enriched itself with the spoils of sacrilege, selling the compassion of the Father of mercies, the love of the Saviour, and the eternal pleasures of Paradise for less than Judas asked for the betrayal of the Master.

SECTION IV

Martin Luther. Such were the religious, social, and political conditions of Germany when Luther struck his mighty blows for freedom of conscience and national deliverance, when he, clad with the armor of patriotism and righteousness, assailed with Bible truth Papal authority and the fabric of society, rotten and tottering in Church and State. A century before he would have shared the fate of Huss and of other martyrs who were advanced beyond their times. The field was ripe for the harvester.

A plain monk of considerable learning, of great courage, moral and common sense, burning with the fire of intense and yet sober patriotism, a plebeian in full touch with his people, Luther was well qualified not only to become a religious reformer but the exponent of the nation's political desires as well. It was this duality in his character and movement which shielded him from Papal fury and made success possible, because it made him the standard bearer of all the revolutionary forces within the nation and for the time being the defender and promoter of social institutions, deeply rooted in the tribal and democratic system of the national government. *In fact, Luther was the father of modern democracy.* This duality made possible the most expedient and expeditious solution of the land question—the secularization of the episcopal domains and a new territorial partition. He drew his religious-political inspirations from the Bible because he found in it the ethics of his race. The geographical and

ethnological confines of the Reformation conclusively show that its hidden sources were of a racial character. Only the people of Teutonic origin were lastingly affected by it: the Germans, English, Dutch, Scandinavians and, in France, the descendants of the Frank conquerors of the Gauls.

The dual character of the Reformation excluded the sectarian and schismatic spirit which impaired all other reformatory movements within the Christian Church. From this duality springs the continuity of the Reformation; it gave to it form and essence and infused it with a lasting and ever progressive energy which will sustain it to the end of the Teutonic race. From the Reformation's political genius and Christianity coming generations will evolve an ideal commonwealth in which the humane alone will prevail. The progressive forces of the Reformation in the course of time will restore to society the spiritual conceptions of the primitive church, and propel the Teutonic race the world over into a political union on the broad basis of democracy. Through the Reformation, fate ordained that the Teutonic race in its spiritual life should after all enjoy all the blessings which long before would have carried it to great glory, if only the humane teachings of Christ had been transmitted to it while yet in the vigor and chastity of racial youth and not at a period when the civilization, through which it was to receive the message of the promised land, had begun to decay and the message itself had been embellished and corrupted.

SECTION V

The Land Question, Feudalism and Royalty in Germany. At first the Reformation received the unqualified support of only the middle class and that part of the lower nobility which had been impoverished and, therefore, had approached the social level of the former. It was not an inspired desire for religious truth or the ardor of faith which moved a majority of the German princes and of the higher nobility to support Luther in his movement. In fact, for some time it appeared questionable which side they would choose. They recognized the efficiency and utility of the Roman Church to keep the people ignorant and superstitious and therefore submissive; they recog-

nized and feared the revolutionary forces hidden in a popular religious movement which assailed the strongest support of autocracy and which, in its patriotic tendency, might jeopardize all political usurpations, and economic and social privileges. Forced by political and financial considerations and the pressure of the middle class to accept the Reformation as a national institution, they were careful to restrict the political and social advantages accruing therefrom to the classes. When the masses, made desperate by hunger, demanded a share of the material benefits arising from the new movement, the princes, the higher nobility, and the patricians, though always snarling and fighting like angry curs over the spoils, immediately pooled their issues and united forces in a most cruel suppression of the peasants' revolt.

With the princes the desire for a redistribution of the land and of all other sources of revenue and wealth, of which the Church had possessed itself, was the original and only motive for their anti-Roman policy. The Reformation appeared most opportune to settle this most vital question at once and before the imminent concentration and reassertion of the imperial power should be realized, a political possibility which might lead to a confiscation of the Church's property for the exclusive benefit of the imperial crown and also to a curtailment of the usurped political rights of the princes and grand seigneurs.

The Government of Germany was an elective monarchy. Before the Church exercised a dominating influence in politics and the period of usurpation of sovereign and popular rights by the royal vassals had set in, the national government of Germany, considering the times, was certainly as democratic, even more so in form and essence than the government of the United States in the first period of its existence. The German national government, in a certain sense, was of the presidential character. In one direction the powers of the executive were larger and in another more restricted. The King was elected by the nobility, the municipalities, and the yeomanry. Every noble was eligible. Rudolph of Hapsburg, the ancestor of the emperors of Austria, when elected King of Germany, was a poor knight whose only claims to advancement were nobility of character, valor and executive ability. His only possessions were his sword, an old castle and an un-

productive farm. The news of his election reached him in a military camp while besieging the bishop of Basel. At the unexpected news of Rudolph's elevation this fighting ecclesiastic, according to legend, cried out "Almighty, hold fast to your throne or this errant knight will pull you off."

In conformity with the old Teutonic principle that the people were the owners of all land, the kings granted at pleasure to whomever they chose feudal tenures of provinces and counties, they appointed the military and civil administrators and the judiciary. The kings were responsible to Parliament, in which all laws originated and which alone raised the supplies to sustain the power of the crown. The feudal system of Germany in its earliest form in so far as the relations of the crown and its subordinate officers were concerned, had its basic idea, one might say, in the Jacksonian principle of rotation in office; in its conception and effects it was purely democratic and military. In fact it was a military and not an economic system and entirely foreign to the feudal system which later on developed from practices originating within the Church. When the German nation came into being and was permanently settled, the land was divided into freeholds of which the larger were given to the tribal leaders or nobility and the rest to the yeomanry which included all the freeborn. The conquered Slavs and Gauls became serfs.

With the building of monasteries and the growth of superstition many of the freeholders were moved by all the artifices known to priestcraft to transfer their holdings to the Church and accept therefor in payment its blessings and guarantee of future bliss and in this life poverty and servitude. It was the Church that fastened feudalism on German society. Gradually this system of confiscation was extended and improved upon by the powers spiritual and temporal until it had enslaved the rural population. With the decline of the royal prestige through the machinations of the Papal Court, the crusades, and the suicidal policy of armed intervention in the affairs of Italy and Rome, the feudal lords usurped the prerogatives of the crown, that is of the national government, and claimed their tenures, originally held by royal will alone, as property in fee simple. Thus states within the state and dynastic interests were created, and the crown lost the di-

rect control of the revenues and military resources of the nation and became dependent upon the good will of hundreds of princes, counts, and barons, and the treacherous loyalty of the pro-Roman hierarchy. The German empire was cursed with Calhounism in an aggravated form, with slavery and with many-tongued Sartollism. Wherever the King commanded large resources in men and money of his own, he was in a position to make his authority severely felt and to hold the former vassals of the crown to strict account, to unseat a Pope or two, to discipline the refractory hierarchy, and to secure peace and prosperity to the nation. History tells of German kings who with a strong military force and a number of executioners traversed all parts of the empire, laid low the strongholds of defiant vassals, ecclesiastics, and robber-barons and had these worthies, who were the plutocrats and financial wolves of the times, strung up over the smoldering ruins of their lairs.

SECTION VI

The Maritime Discoveries.—Spanish Absolutism and Catholicism. Royalty in Germany favored the middle class and found loyal response. The enemies of the burgher were the enemies of the king, and therefore, mutual interests bound them together in their struggle with the Church, the petty princes, and the lords. To extend the power of the king and the democratic organizations of the cities, then locked up within their walls, was the first political object of the Reformation. That it had to seek other political channels was due to the character and error of judgment of a royal youth and the discovery of America.

For over two centuries descendants of Rudolph of Hapsburg had almost uninterruptedly been elected kings of Germany. By marriage and as fiefs the house of Hapsburg had acquired a number of dukedoms in Germany and the right of succession to the crown of Spain and its dependencies, to the crown of Naples and Sicily, to that of Burgundy and Milan, and to the government of the Netherlands. In 1516 the Hapsburgs became possessed of all these rights by one of the family, Charles I, a youth of sixteen years, succeeding to the crown of Spain, thus coming into all the other inheritances. Since the days of Charle-

magne such a concentration of power in the hands of one person had not taken place. As fate willed it, nearly concurrent with this event, an election for King of Germany was to be held. Charles I of Spain, and the Kings of France and England entered the race. For the civilized peoples of Europe and the future of mankind the result of this election was of tremendous import.

Though the German Kingdom at the time was in truth only a bundle of fiefs and the King only one of a number of petty princes with more dignity and often less power than his colleagues, yet when in a position to command large revenues and military resources of his own, it was possible for him to exert a decisive influence over the political destiny of Europe, in fact, to become its sole arbiter and re-assert his political supremacy as Roman Emperor. The election was hotly contested. To an extent never before known bribery was made use of. For the first time the use of American gold decided an election in Europe. Charles I, King of Spain, as Charles V, was chosen King of Germany and Roman Emperor. Spain, then the most bigoted country in civilized Europe, was at the time beginning to draw into its coffers the precious metals of its American colonies, and, therefore, was growing in political and military importance. During the Middle Ages, Spain had for nearly eight centuries been engaged in religious war against the Mohammedans. Under their rule it had flourished in science, arts, industry and commerce and as the most civilized country in Europe had far outstripped in the humane and in general culture every Christian people. During the perpetual religious war the clergy had acquired absolute power and, therefore, when the Half-moon succumbed before the Cross, the fanatical clergy enforced the exodus of the Moors and supplanted their enlightened and humane government with royal despotism under the strict guardianship of the Roman camarilla. Then the glory and prosperity of Spain vanished. Its cities, under Moorish rule industrious, rich, populous, and powerful, became deserted and impoverished and lost their liberties and privileges. The fields which were once called the gardens of Europe, became waste and the abode of the most wretched and superstitious peasantry of Europe. The poverty and misery which followed the ascendancy of the Roman hierarchy was almost indescribable. Within a century and a

half of the final victory over the Moors, absolutism and theocracy had transformed the most prosperous country of the Middle Ages into one in which arts and manufactures were entirely lost and where in place of the brilliant light of Moorish civilization which for centuries had brought benefit to mankind, the hapless funereal flames of the *Autos-da-Fé* lighted the way of the nation to its spiritual and political sepulcher.

SECTION VII

Charles V. Roman Emperor. Charles V had been brought up and educated in Spain under the close supervision of the Church. In thought and feeling he had been estranged from his race; to all intents and purposes, though less bigoted, he was a Spaniard in mind and soul. To guard his youthful mind against any progressive impressions and the spirit of the Reformation, and to imbue him more fully with Roman fanaticism the Church retained him in Spain another year.

Enthusiastically received by the people in the Netherlands and in Germany, it soon became evident that the young Emperor was already lost to the national cause, and that his mind had been dulled, dwarfed, and prejudiced in such a manner as to hide from him the political import of the Reformation and the opportunities it offered him to achieve greatness and renown and to become the benefactor of his race and of mankind. Never in historical times did mortal being enjoy such opportunities to advance the human race. Never in historical times did mortal being pay less regard to ultimate consequences. As Roman Emperor whom the traditions of a thousand years held to be the Vice-Regent of God on Earth, as King of Germany at the head of the most war-like nation of the times, as the Lord of the Netherlands commanding the Seas, as the King of Spain controlling the riches of the Americas, as King of Naples and Sicily and Duke of Milan holding the Papacy in a vise-like grip, he by a stroke of his pen might have changed the future history of the human race. At the session of the German Parliament at Worms, when Luther passionately pleaded before him the cause of his race and nation, of freedom of conscience and civic liberty, humanity appealed to Charles V in vain,

“He might have soared in the morning light,
He made his nest with the birds of night.”

Vainly did he, for seven years and unto his last hour in cloistered solitude mourn over the lost opportunity and a wasted life. He bequeathed to generations all the horrors of civil and religious war and perpetuated the rule of the anti-Christ. Millions of human beings were slain, the homes of millions laid in ruins, whole countries devastated, and the light of heaven darkened for centuries through an error in judgment of one man. Through his elevation to the pinnacle of earthly power and his failure to discern his momentous opportunity to become the deliverer of the Christian people from the thralldom of the Papacy, the civilized world was threatened with a new danger—that of a universal despotism under the control of theocratic Rome. The Christian World at large was threatened with the inquisition, with the extinguishment of the last embers of liberty of conscience. The Christian World might witness *Autos-da-Fé* rivalling in horror the cruelties perpetrated in ancient Rome where the living bodies of tens of thousands of the primitive Christians served as fagots to illuminate the orgies of the *Pontifex Maximus* and of his barbarous court.

SECTION VIII

The Middle Class, the Cities, and the Protestant Clergy. Charles the Fifth's pro-Roman policy swept the Reformation into political channels which for centuries carried it far out of its course. Even within our times, in the age of intellectual advancement, scientific and historical research, we find it drifting without due guidance in these very channels seeking an outlet to reach its political goal. Even in the land of its inception it is afflicted with apathy to progress, and apparent premature decay. In its political character originally a movement for national unity and the preservation of the democratic nurseries in the cities, through Charles V opposition the Reformation was driven to seek support from the petty princes and the feudal lords and thus of necessity was made subservient to the perpetuation of economic and social conditions which were the cause of Germany's misfortune and are now threatening the welfare of the American democracy.

Heretofore the free cities had allied themselves with the emperors as the representatives of Teutonic democracy, but from the era of Charles V, that is from the ascendancy of Spanish absolutism in the politics of Germany, the middle class, already weakened by adverse economic influences, was forced to change front in its political relations with the formerly nearly coördinate powers of the realm. This change in the political affections of the middle class was favored by the princes. The concentration of enormous powers in the hands of Charles V and the alliance of his successors with Spanish absolutism threatened the princes and grand-seigneurs with dislodgment from their usurpations of sovereignty. It also foreshadowed the gradual dismemberment of that unwieldy body, the German Parliament, of which they were the moving spirits in its denationalizing and obstructively reactionary policy. They feared a process of retrogression to their former condition of vassalage and dependency on imperial pleasure. They were, therefore, more than ready to patronize the cities. This unholy alliance between democratic communities and dynastic interests proved fatal to the liberties of the cities. The constant warfare which grew out of the struggle between the Papacy and the Reformation, and in which despotic Spain, commanding the inexhaustible resources of its rich colonies, fought for the leadership with Catholic France, together with the ambitious designs for the conquest of Sweden and Condottieri, impoverished the German cities and brought them more and more under the influence of imperialism or of powerful neighboring dynasties. While the cities still retained the outward forms of democratic organization, they virtually ceased to be the harbingers of industrial and political freedom. Within a century of the Thirty Years War, they were with very few exceptions, *de facto* if not *de jure*, dependencies or maintained their autonomy solely by the grace of some foreign power.

Under the petrifying process which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seized European society as a consequence of the political reaction following in the wake of dynastic wars, the middle class lost entirely its political prestige and dropped into utter spiritual and social apathy. The burghers' political vision did not extend beyond their walls, and their soulless ambition exhausted itself with the

petty affairs of every day life in communities, from which the spirit of democracy, and the genius of prosperity and, therefore, of patriotism had fled. When the political and material progress of the cities was arrested, the onward movement of the Reformation and with it that of national union, of social and economic emancipation, and of political liberty was arrested.

In the attempt to throw off the incubi of Popery and despotism, Germany had exhausted herself. Nearly three centuries of bloodshed and devastation, during which the German people contended with every continental power and repulsed the Mohammedan invasions, left their country religiously and politically in a chaotic condition; but these centuries also witnessed the staying powers of Protestantism and the creation of conditions for its triumphant progress.

During the deadly conflict with superstition and tyranny the German nation laid the foundation for intellectual greatness and thus entered upon the fulfillment of its political mission of driving the Papacy from Europe, of guarding civilization against the Asiaticizing tendency of the Czars—who in their dual character as temporal rulers of semi-barbarous peoples and as the Popes of the Eastern church are the very incarnation of religious and political despotism—and of establishing a humane government by the learned estate for the people. Because of their idolatrous veneration for riches and the carnality of their hearts the privileged classes everywhere have lost the intellectual and moral qualities absolutely necessary to carry into effect the humane precepts of the Reformation and by its light to create a new social order on a higher plane.

The adverse influences of Charles the Fifth's policy on German economic and social life were felt until the middle of the last century. For instance, they retarded the industrial progress of the German people so effectively that until quite recently it was unable to profit to any extent from the application of science to industrial pursuits or to enter into collective industry in a manner enabling it to compete in the markets of the World. At the close of the Thirty Years War when the political status of the Reformation was firmly established, these evil influences had nearly destroyed within the nation the inward spirit of religion and crushed its emotions. The religious fervor

of the nation had almost exhausted itself. The Protestant clergy had ceased to be imbued with the missionary spirit of an *ecclesia militans* and were oblivious of the political and patriotic aims of the Reformation. Altogether subservient to the interests of the classes, the clergy of Germany, like that of England, were often reduced to the degraded condition of serving as lackeys and jesters at the courts of the petty princes and lords. They were idolaters of the rich and the mouthpiece of the classes. When given to intellectual efforts they wasted life and opportunities in mystical research and fruitless and bizarre scholastic disputations.

While from the ranks of the ministry the spirit of the Reformation had departed, it had inspired the learned estate to search for truth, to throw off the shackles of mysticism and to brush aside the dust and cobwebs of judaistic superstition and tradition. It had also inspired an epoch in patriotic and heroic literature which aroused the highest faculties of the nation's mind and soul.

SECTION IX

The English Revolution. In England, as well as in Germany, the Reformation was a social movement, a struggle of the middle class for the lasting exercise of co-ordinate powers in the government. It was a protest against the injustice of the church's temporal exactions and its pernicious meddling with the nations' foreign and internal affairs; in a moral sense it was also a protest against the violation of the ethics of the Teutonic race. This appears more clearly from the causes of the English Revolution which for the first time brought forth the true spirit of the Reformation. The movement under Henry VIII, socially considered, was solely a dissolution of the partnership between royalty and the Papacy from which the latter drew more than five times the amount left to royalty. It was a solution of the land question almost exclusively in favor of the crown—a stroke of policy through which royalty expected to reëstablish absolutism. Royalty failed in its design because in its calculations it left out the most important factor in the amalgam of the English nation—the ethics of the Saxon. Charles I paid the penalty for royalty's mistake that the new religious doctrines were the consequences and not the cause of the

Reformation, which in its social character was only firmly established with the execution of the royal usurper, with the downfall of absolute monarchy, and with the preponderance of the Commons.

The ethical or racial forces of the Reformation could not find a true expression in the Established Church. They showed forth in their glory in the dissenting bodies, in the piety and valor of the Ironsides, and in the revolutionary measures of Cromwell's reign. Next to Silent William of Orange, Cromwell, real, curt, masterful and direct, was the foremost political representative of the Reformation. Like his illustrious predecessor in the Netherlands, he saw the ideals possible through the ethics of his race and those of Christianity. He could not give to his creations the humane and broad democratic character with which the silent Prince stamped the reformatory movements in the Netherlands because the England of Cromwell's times was not ripe for that which Cromwell's genius reasoned and willed.

That England reaped nearly all the economic and social benefits following from the Reformation centuries before Germany was due to the geographical position of England and not to the superiority of her people. Inhabiting the middle of Europe, the German people had to bear the brunt of every fight in every contention over religious and political matters; their country was the great arena in which the battles for religious freedom were fought and where they will be fought to a finish. As for England, the destruction of the Armada by the elements, the heroic struggle of the Netherlands, the ambition of Gustave Adolph of Sweden, the Thirty Years' and the Seven Years' Wars, the genius of Frederick the Great, and the encircling ocean spared her the tribulations endured by Germany and delivered her from the nightmare of Popery and absolutism. These historical events and nature's favor granted to her middle class security and prosperity, the sources of the political power of the Commons and of England's industrial and commercial greatness.

SECTION X

Huguenotism and Henry IV of France. Although the Reformation affected all the Latin Nations, with one exception it failed to find within them a permanent lodgment.

In Spain it was entirely suppressed within a decade, and in Italy the last traces disappeared with the advent of the Jesuits. In France alone it gained a firm foothold and left a permanent impression; in fact, her administration has been largely controlled by Protestants, the descendants of the Huguenots, who alone have hitherto saved French society from the anarchical forces always slumbering under the democratic and humane veneering of Gallic nature.

Protestantism spread in France over the provinces in which the Frankish or Teutonic element was, as yet, a powerful social-political factor. Though the Germanization of Britain went far deeper than the Latinization of France, yet the centralizing and autocratic tendency of Latinism within France's social organism had already reached such a volume that the middle class and the nobility, who were of Frankish origin, were unable to stem the current. Royalty had nearly succeeded in the reduction of the powerful feudal lords of Frankish descent to functionaries of the crown and was then stripping the more or less independent cities, in which the Frankish element had its last stronghold, of their liberties. The history of the Reformation and of every succeeding revolution in France is the history of the struggle for supremacy between the communities on the one side and absolutism on the other. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, the reign of Terror, the fusillades and the reactionary fury in 1871 are only conspicuous episodes of the continuous process of extermination of the Frankish element in the social organism of France. This process commenced with the reign of Louis XI and will close under anarchical conditions of cyclonic force with the disruption of France and the downfall of the Papacy that the orderly advance of the human race may not suffer violence.

Henry of Navarre had a thorough understanding of the religious, or rather racial character of this struggle, and of the great progress made, when he sacrificed a hopeless cause to his ambition and, with his apostasy from Protestantism, secured the crown of France. His policy and tragic fate indicates that he may have nourished the hope to stop the process of extermination and thus to secure the stability of French society and the exclusion of Papal influence. He paid with his life for the mistake of his life. Unmindful of the fate of his predecessor and of others

and of the lessons of history, he entered *reservatio mentalis* into a compact with the Papacy. Like others, individuals and nations, Henry IV of France paid the penalty for his trust in the hellish powers of the camarilla with which no truth or compromise is possible. He ought to have known that this camarilla never stopped at any means, be they ever so foul, to accomplish its ambitious designs and gratify its insatiate hunger for power, that for it all things were sanctified by the presumption that they served *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. Once within the pale of Romanism, so do historical events of a thousand years demonstrate, genius and might, individuals, families and nations alike succumb to the viles, the venom, and the fury of the most selfish, cruel and relentless theocracy of historical times.

SECTION XI

The Learned Estate. Over England a century passed, and over Germany the wars of three centuries swept ere these countries gathered the political fruits of which the germs lay imbedded in the Reformation. The most precious of these fruits, democracy, is there, as yet, waiting the harvester.

With the study of the Bible, the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, whether rich or poor, was again set forth and within the nations of Teuton descent the traditions of their race as to the social equality of man and self-government were revived.

The attempted suppression of the Reformation, and the fierce and incessant struggle between the Teutonic and Latin races resulting therefrom, gave to the hitherto politically disinherited the opportunity to demand and enforce social recognition. Through the Reformation, and the wars that followed, a partial reorganization of society and a redistribution of wealth took place, each favorable to the extension of economic independence to ever enlarging circles and, therefore, to intellectual progress, always the precursor of important changes in the relation of the classes. There is no question that the most important issue of the Reformation, considered in its totality as the real source of a higher civilization, is the learned estate, a new class brought forth by the Reformation, and destined, before long, to assume the sole leadership in the progress of the human race and to develop modern democracy not

to Utopian perfection but to that degree of perfection in which the pursuit of happiness is open to all.

Protestantism brought the learned estate into being and into political life as a powerful motor, at first exclusively in a religious garb and in harmony with the middle class because in the defense of the common faith the economic interests of these two classes gradually approached identity and were at stake. Whenever in the course of economic progress the division of society into rich and poor shall have reached that stage where capital will control all avenues to preferment and monopolize all the amenities of life, then the interests of the learned estate will have ceased to be identical or in reasonable correspondence with those of the middle class. The learned will then naturally gravitate to the masses and the equilibrium of society will be upset because the learned alone hold it in balance. The social question will then be solved—under certain conditions—in an orderly manner.

Where and whenever in Protestant communities the learned estate took a decisive part in political movements, it revealed the most progressive and conscientious force with a decidedly democratic tendency. The struggle for the independence of the Netherlands, the establishment of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the English Revolution, our War of Independence, the war against the Catholic *Sonderbund* in Switzerland, and the revolutionary movements in Germany in 1848-49 gave expression to the progressive and altruistic character of this force and witnessed its gradual expansion from the narrow confines of sectarianism into humaneness.

SECTION XII

Modern Democracy and the Struggle in the Netherlands. With the exception of the drama of war which for three centuries, with only short intermissions, engaged all the energies and resources of the German people, and the War of Independence, the most important struggle in the history of mankind has been that of the Netherlands for political and religious freedom. Out of it modern democracy took its rise.

The Dutch established the principle of government by the people, of the people, and for the people. The Union of Utrecht of 1579, which organized the free and independ-

ent government of the United Netherlands, laid the foundation for every succeeding democratic structure. It was an act of original, inherent sovereignty by the people themselves and the precursor of the *American Declaration of Independence* and of the American Union. It proclaimed religious toleranee, the right of self-government, the doctrines of states-rights and of the inseparable political union of all the States—doctrines on which centuries later American statesmen erected the structure of the United States. The people of the Netherlands were in the van in the conception of human liberty and its practical application. The men of Haarlem and Leyden advanced the doctrine that the community-at-large was responsible for the intellectual and moral training of the future citizens. They organized the first system of public schools and enforced compulsory education, the most efficient promoters of religious and civic liberty, and of democracy, and, in our days, the strongest bulwark of the liberties of the people. Three hundred years ago, the Dutch people stood forth alone, unflinchingly and heroically, the sole champion on earth of civic and religious liberty. Their heroic devotion to the cause of the Reformation, and the genius and heroism of William of Orange will forever command the admiration of mankind. How great would have been its gain had fate decreed that the genius of William of Orange should have enjoyed the powers of Charles V and his opportunities for the elevation of the human race!

SECTION XIII

The Thirty-Years' and the Seven-Years' Wars.—American Independence. Considered from a purely military standpoint, the Thirty Years' War accomplished very little. It established the political status of the Reformation on the continent, though on sufferance only. Its political consequences were of portentous moment to Europe, to the North-American colonies, and to the human race through the Swedish invasion of Germany.

The towering ambition of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, attempted to supplant the imperial government of Catholic Hapsburg with a Protestant Confederation under the hegemony of Sweden. A bullet fired by a German patriot or by an ungrateful partisan, possibly an accident, saved Germany and the cause of Protestantism

from the dangers of militarism at a time when its success would have stifled all emotions of heart and soul. The permanent lodgment of Sweden then effected by its military forces in the North of Europe, eventually will lead to the final triumph of Protestantism over the Papacy on the continent of Europe. Indirectly it also became a cause of the independence of the North-American colonies. The Swedish lodgment granted to the house of Hohenzollern the opportunity of expansion, to establish its religious-military State, and to fix immovably the political status of the Reformation in Europe.

The Seven-Years' War, the logical continuation of the Thirty-Years' War, advanced Prussia into line with the Great Powers of Europe and established in Germany the balance of military power between Protestantism and Romanism. The crushing defeat of the French at Rossbach by Frederick the Great made possible the peace of 1763 by which the American colonies were relieved from the fear of French aggression on the North and of Spanish aggression on the South. The Seven-Years' War destroyed the empire of France upon this continent and committed America to Teutonic civilization and Protestantism.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUGGLE OF RACES OVER THE PAPACY

SECTION I

Sedan and the Papacy. The first struggle between Romanism and Protestantism in Germany closed with the battle of Sadowa. Its setting sun witnessed the atonement of the sin committed by Charles V against his race and against humanity and by the Hapsburgs continued for three hundred and fifty years. "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin." Whoever submits to the Papacy is made the servant of sin and will reap the harvest of sin.

Fate willed it that at the very time Protestantism in Germany had fought the last battle for predominance in national affairs the destiny of France, the foremost Catholic and Latin power, was swayed by a Spanish woman [Empress Eugenie] through whom the pro-Roman policy of the Spanish monarchy was transmitted to the second Napoleonic empire. Urged on by the Papal camarilla, this woman precipitated the last struggle for supremacy between the Teutonic and Latin races, between Protestantism and Romanism in Europe. On the heights of Sedan the strife lasting six centuries between the German nation and the *Pontifex Maximus* ended. Great and ever flowing had been the woe caused by it! Millions of lives were sacrificed, families were extinguished and cities were laid in ashes! Millions of broken hearts and tragic fates, horrors and barbarities without end marked the policy of the Papacy in its vampiric designs against the Teutonic nations.

The Franco-German War decided the fate of the Papacy in Europe. With the entrance of the Italian national forces into Rome the *Patrimonium Petri*, this curse of a thousand years and of mankind, was lost to the Papacy—the time will be, at no distant date, when this relic of past ages shall be effaced by the ever growing light of humanity and the apostle of darkness made a wanderer on earth.

For humanity's sake let us hope, that ignorance and superstition, or cowardice will not build up on the American continent another stronghold of priestly rapacity and violence, from which Papal bulls may issue to interdict all intellectual and humane progress, messengers of evil bringing sufferings of every description to individuals, families and nations. May Providence preserve the American people from such an infliction! May the American people profit by the lessons of history!

SECTION II

Napoleon I. The wealth which England's middle class had accumulated through the peaceful enjoyment of the economic and social fruits of the Reformation was most effectively brought into play in the great drama of war which commenced with the French revolution of 1789 and closed with the battle of Waterloo. The magic of England's riches defeated the gigantic intellect of the Corsican in his vast design and purpose to Latinize Europe and to replace Teutonic civilization, the evolution of ages, with that of his creative mind.

When the destructive and levelling period of the French revolution had closed, and Napoleon had inherited the achievements and traditions of ten long centuries, he conceived the reëstablishment of the Roman empire in a modern form. His policy towards Germany and the indomitable stubbornness with which he assailed England's economic and political position are evidence that he considered the dismemberment of the organic structures of the Teutonic race absolutely necessary to the success of his project of the Latinization of Europe and of universal dominion. Charles V, in cloister's solitude, and Napoleon I on the Rock of St. Helena each meditated over the folly of challenging the moral forces of a race by everlasting fate charged with the apostleship of the humane.

The peculiarity of Napoleon's gigantic intellect apparently foreign to his times and transmitted from the age of the condottieri and Machiavellian statesmanship, was simply the product of his tribal descent, of the environments of his childhood and early youth, of his military education under the ancient régime, and of the revolutionary effervescence of the period during which his mind matured. In his character he combined the vindictiveness

and treachery and the excessive trust and natural kindness of heart of the Corsican, the narrow traits of the provincial reared amidst genteel poverty, all the imperiousness and hauteur of the graduate of an aristocratic military academy, and the stubbornness, shyness and vindictive jealousy of the poor student exposed to the jests of his rich and high born comrades. Of Latin descent he could have no ideals, no higher aspirations than to serve State and Church as others had done before him. Entering into manhood during a revolutionary period of extraordinary violence and passion, he became the victim of conflicting emotions. He loathed the bloodthirsty and uncouth rabble and despised the ranting, querulous and superficial demagogues of liberty who inflamed with sophomoric affectations of the humane the passions of the mob and trembled before its fury. Yet his ambition and the knowledge of his genius urged him on to join the carnival of Gallic vanity and brutishness masked with the caricature of democracy. His indecision and extreme youth and his employment in camp saved his head. The marriage with the adventuress Josephine made him a soldier of fortune on a scale befitting his intellect. He achieved extraordinary success because he towered intellectually far above the martinets and crack-brained or antiquated politicians of his time. Contemporaneous history and the legends of a reactionary period during which his despoilers earned the curses of the people, measured Napoleon's greatness with the rule applied to the military and political abilities of his pygmean contemporaries and their immediate successors. Only once did Napoleon meet his equal on the battlefield in the person of Charles, Archduke of Austria. With the odds largely in the Corsican's favor, he was fairly and squarely beaten.

SECTION III

The Corsican, the Reformation, and the Papacy. The peculiarity of Napoleon's genius and his conception of history from an almost exclusively military standpoint veiled to him the hidden labyrinthian thread which passes along the moral life of nations. He did not discern, or failed to appreciate, the psychological forces which since the Reformation directed the political aims of the Teutonic race. Therefore, the decrees ordering the execu-

tion of the German patriot and publisher Palm and laying an embargo on England's colonial and industrial products, though entirely different as to conception and purpose, had the same effect. The one was intended to intimidate the learned estate of Germany and the other to sap England's financial and therewith her military resources and those of her subsidized allies. By the one, Napoleon violated the moral and political affections and by the other he jeopardized the economic and political benefits issuing from the Reformation. The bullets piercing the patriot's heart struck the ideals which the German professors and students at the time were setting up for the nation's deliverance and political future. The decree directed against England's trade and industry adversely affected the prosperity of her middle class and therefore imperilled its social position only gained after a struggle lasting two centuries.

While Napoleon's ambitious designs jeopardized the spiritual and political blessings vouchsafed to the Teutonic race through the Reformation, his treatment of the Papal question was erroneous and strangely contradictory of his ultimate purpose of reëstablishment of the Cæsarian Empire. Either he had to restore the Papacy to its former spiritual and temporal powers and make it a coördinate agency in his design or he had to reduce its functions to their original sphere, to the bishopric of Rome. Each mode of procedure lay in his power.

In France, and in the countries overrun by the armies of the French republic, the Papacy and the hierarchy had been stripped of every vestige of political power, aye, the Church itself had been out-lawed. When the reign of Terror and the interregnum of anarchy were brought to an abrupt ending, the one with the execution of Robespierre and the other with Napoleon's military intervention, and the Roman Church was to be reëstablished and its hierarchy restored, the new government of France, the Directory, dared not to apply to the Apostolic See for its episcopal services but had recourse to the episcopal character of Talleyrand, the ex-Bishop of Autun, to transmit it to the new Bishops and to celebrate on the *Champs de Mars* the first mass after the short reign of the goddess Reason. Lafayette, who commanded the National Guard on parade, has recounted how Talleyrand when approaching the altar

with the sacred vessel in his hands, whispered to him, "Do not make me laugh." Talleyrand having been the prime mover of the decrees out-lawing the Church as a menace to the progress of the human race and having participated in the atrocities of the revolution, appeared to the Directory to be the proper instrument to reëstablish the reign of superstition.

Though a zealous student of the Cæsarian epoch of Roman history, Napoleon failed to draw from it the lesson that such an empire as his towering ambition contemplated, to wit, a confederacy of the Latin nations under the hegemony of France, with members of his family as his pro-consuls, is only possible under a ruler who unites in his person all the attributes, spiritual and temporal, of the *Pontifex Maximus*. Failing to draw this maxim from Roman history and that of his race, he was later on painfully reminded of its truth in his campaign in Russia. There he met with fanaticism and fatalism, elements of character always found combined and present where an autocrat also rules the religious conscience of his people.

SECTION IV

The French Revolution of 1789. It cannot be denied that the Napoleonic era greatly benefited the nations of Europe and the people of the United States of America. It left a lasting impression on society, while the revolutionary period preceding it only fleetingly affected it outside of France; it paralyzed England's efforts to reconquer the United States.

All things soberly considered, the value of the French revolution of 1789 as a propelling force in the progress of the human race, is problematical. In the first place the revolution proceeded not from great moral principles, historically evolved, and consequently could not develop great moral forces directing or molding civilization. In this respect, the revolutions in the Netherlands, in England, and in North America were of far greater effect. Secondly, its atrocities and barbarities, and its extraordinary destructive forces were the causes of political reaction and of militarism, the one throwing back and the other exhausting the nations of Europe. From a careful study of the intellectual, economic, and political condition of Europe and particularly of France preceding the revolutionary

epoch, it appears that the progressive agencies arising from the establishment of the United States and from collective industry would have assured a more steady and, therefore, more effective and lasting advancement of the civilized peoples of Europe. The revolutionary effervescence of France from 1789-93 was caused by a generality of glittering ideas, the outflow of a new epoch in scientific research and literature; ideas generally discussed and therefore misconceived by the masses, stirring up the passion for the indiscriminate overthrow of all social institutions.

It is doubtful whether the reformatory movement which led to the assemblage of the French States-general would ever have turned into revolutionary channels and closed with the establishment of a republic, if the economic and social necessities of the learned estate had not imperatively demanded a reorganization of society. As already mentioned, the French civil administration was more or less under the control of the middle class, which included since the reduction of feudalism in France, her lower nobility. The younger sons of the burghers and gentry commonly received a University education and after graduation entered the service of the State and Church. After the political consolidation of the French monarchy, civil service reform had been introduced in all departments of the civil service and to a degree in the administration of the Gallican Church. The establishment of a bureaucracy was intended as a binding element within the organism of the State. All appointments to the higher offices depended on a higher education. Strange to say, in appointments to the judiciary and in the administration, Protestants were preferred. This policy had been followed from the times of Richelieu to the Regency; it had been the secret of the orderly administration of French national affairs. It was so deeply impressed on French society, that Gallic passion and frivolity, religious strife and the terrors of many revolutions could not entirely eradicate it. It is also the secret of the rapid recuperation of France after every violent shock to the framework of her society.

Under the profligate and corrupt reign of the Regent and Louis XV, the extravagance of the court and higher nobility and Law's schemes had impoverished the upper classes of society and it became necessary to provide for the morally and financially exhausted courtiers and their

subsequent existence in the service of State and Church. Under the maladministration of the royal mistresses, favorites and procurers were appointed to the highest offices and to episcopal honors. Of course, the students and the officials descended from the middle class suffered want or neglect; they could no longer find a proper lodgment in the social scale or preferment; they were threatened with social degradation and a proletariat future.

Beginning with the middle of the eighteenth century Paris and other cities of France were crowded with learned proletarians who naturally laid bare and assailed the shortcomings of the government and of the classes hostile to their interests. Pamphlets, called "Satyrs," were published by hundreds. The government at first annoyed and then aroused to fury, issued as reprisals the much feared *lettres-de-cachet*, warrants without process of law, in the American sense representing "sweeping injunctions" and proclamations of the President, and immured the authors in the Bastille. Since the consolidation of the monarchy the learned in France had been well satisfied with their position as the virtual rulers of France. When royalty proscribed the learned, it became a question of "to be or not to be" between the intellectual powers and the monarchy. The question was solved on the guillotine. *The grievances, which enlisted the learned and the lower clergy of Germany in the cause of the Reformation, were in France the propelling forces in the social movement which swept the ancient régime out of existence. A few years before, similar grievances had been the leaven in the movement of the North-American colonies for independence. Truly the pen is mightier than the sword; possibly it needs not another appeal to the passions of the masses to convince society that the pen is also mightier than the dollar.*

Through passion, and from the increasing friction of rapidly overtopping events, the revolution degenerated into an exposition of Gallican vanity, ferocious race-hatred, and pitiful ambition. The rapacity and immorality of the armies of the revolution, overrunning Europe, speedily convinced the idealists that sanseullottism, or mob rule *en masse*, the Phrygian cap, and other emblems of political and social revolution, do not always, and certainly did not then represent a humane endeavor.

It is true that the French revolution of 1789 swept away

the rubbish of centuries, but in its logical culmination, militarism and conquest, it caused the destruction of millions of lives and of the accumulated wealth of generations, and bequeathed to civilization the specter of anarchism, always profitably employed by the reactionary agencies as a powerful stage-effect to curd the blood of the Philistine and to prejudice his mind against all and every social progress. The lasting political achievement of the French revolution has been the emancipation *de jure* of the third estate in France, unfortunately though at the beginning of a transitional period in economics. At the time the middle class entered into political rights, it also entered into collective industry. The result of this twofold movement of the third estate was the loss of its moral equilibrium and its gradual debasement into political heresies and social immoralities which broke loose in the third republic of Panama fame and of the Czar's approval.

Indirectly, the French revolution of 1789 caused royalty to acquiesce in semi-constitutional government, and defined the political status of the Papacy as a police agency of the great Powers and of the classes "to taint truth with superstitions and traditions," that the masses might continue to place their hope exclusively in the hereafter and forget that in the last division of nature's blessings, they again had failed to secure the fruits of liberty.

SECTION V

Compulsory Education and Military Service. Europe is also indebted to the French revolution for the revival of two institutions far-reaching in their effects: compulsory education and military service.

In 1806 Napoleon had defeated and annihilated the army of Prussia, the foremost Protestant power on the continent, and had reduced her politically and geographically to insignificance. The statesmen then called upon to preserve the little kingdom from further spoliation or extinction, to husband and secretly to increase its military resources, were mindful of the lessons of history that the patriotism of the masses and all that pertains to the humane which ordinarily lies dormant under the crust of ignorance and misery, can only be aroused by an appeal to the ethical forces with which the learned alone may control the mental and physical powers of the people. To secure for these forces the

most effective and extended application, it appeared politic to raise the standard of intelligence of the masses. Therefore, compulsory education and a perfected system of public schools became a necessity. Prussia, having been restricted by Napoleon in the maintenance of the army to 40,000 men, compulsory military service was enforced to increase the combativeness of the people and to lull the suspicions of the Corsican. On these two systems that wonderful institution, the German army, was built up. After the Franco-German War Europe recognized the commanding necessity to copy, at least partially, the example set by Germany.

With the general introduction of public schools the seeds of democracy were sown, and the sapping process against superstition and Romanism and the *finale* of the Papal tragedy commenced. Under compulsory military service the people are bred to arms. When European society shall have emerged, shattered and levelled, from the next great war, when the Teutonic race shall have once more and forever destroyed the aggressive power of France, when therewith the last hope of the Papacy for lasting domicile and dominion in Europe shall have perished, and when the slavie invasion shall again have been beaten back and, to save the civilization of Western Europe, the Russian Empire shall have been disrupted, then the peoples in arms will insist on a new order of existence and, thenceforth, will enjoy all the economic and social blessings of the Reformation under institutions that will represent the embodiment in spirit and matter of democracy.

SECTION VI

The Heroes of Protestantism. The history of the Reformation in Europe may be divided into three periods: the period of revolutionary aggression, the period of defense against dynastic aggression, and the period of racial aggression in the age of science. Each period was marked with military and political genius, with the lives of great men, indelible characters whom fame has crowned with laurels and who were cast in the heroic mold of the "Saga" and the "Nibelungen." William the Silent and Cromwell, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and Frederick the Great, Moltke and Bismarck are the representative characters of the periods of the Reformation, the very incarnation of its ethics and those of their race.

William of Orange and Cromwell firmly planted the banner of the Reformation, Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick defended it against the repeated assaults of Romanism and Latinism, Moltke and Bismarck set it floating over the civilization of Europe. When we turn from the grave of Barbarossa to the grave of Bismarck, our mind wanders through six centuries of struggle against the Papacy, from the beginning to the end. The dirges sung at the grave of Barbarossa were the dirges sung at the grave of German unity and of Teuton democracy. When future generations of the Teutonic race shall gather at Bismarck's grave to pay homage to the memory of the statesman who personified the ethics of the Reformation at last triumphant, the pilgrims may sing heroic songs of the unity and greatness of their race and of the victory achieved by him over mediæval superstition and the foes of mankind. The pedestal on which his statue will stand is the Unity of Germany and the Triumph of Protestantism, coveted in vain for ages, but through him attained.

SECTION VII

The German Universities, Their Intellectual, Ethical and Political Influence. After two centuries of inertness of mind and soul, with the close of foreign invasion and the Napoleonic era of oppression, Germany gathered together all the elements of intellectual and moral progress. She recovered the endowments of her race and the spiritual achievements of the Reformation and evolved from them the philosophy which started one of the grandest intellectual and moral movements of humanity. Her student youth and the learned strove for an ideal collective humanity, their aspirations were the visions of the enthusiast and the poet's dream, but they quickened and suffused the nation with the spirit which flows from a divine perception of man's rights and duties binding him to the community and to all mankind. While the French revolution was the assertion of long suppressed individualism, the revolution which Germany's students and philosophers were preparing was to attain the purpose of creation, lifting the apathetic, helpless, shapeless mass to the pinnacle of the humane. They were to attain that which the author of the *Declaration of Independence* so tersely expressed "the pursuit of happiness."

The learned of Germany virtually controlled the governments of the several states. They were governments by the learned for the people. Every interest was made subservient to two objects: the moral and intellectual progress of the people and their military education. Never before did any single estate in so short a time, within two generations dated from Waterloo, and in such a silent and orderly manner so thoroughly revolutionize a nation in its intellectual, moral, and physical relations. After the battle of Waterloo, Germany was in a chaotic condition, depopulated, impoverished, rent, and sandwiched between hostile powers. Fifty years later her administration was as nearly perfect as human nature could make it and possessed of an *esprit de corps*, the embodiment of honor, her public schools were conducted on scientific principles, her universities were the centers of learning and research, her resources were carefully husbanded and developed, and preparations were made to enter successfully into collective industry and to compete for the commerce of the world—as soon as the dream of six centuries, unity, should have been realized. From the A B C school to university graduation, in the family and in the church, in the workshop and in the barracks, from childhood's play to maturity the youth was taught his destiny: to sacrifice his life on the altar of the Fatherland and to prepare for the final struggle with the nation's archenemies, the Gaul, the Cossack, and the demon Popery. The German nation in arms was a creation of the learned. The nation and the army were one and inseparable; their inspirations they drew from the universities which were the brain, the heart, and the soul of both.

SECTION VIII

Bismarck. Bismarck's conception of things and of men, of nations and their relations to each other, were those of the master mind and not of the Liliputian style; his statesmanship was of that character which looks fore and aft, takes a comprehensive view of the lessons of history, its teachings by example, and applies them to its own times and nation. There is a truism Bismarck took to heart—viz: that only those statesmen did succeed and built permanently who used the resources of the people to realize such ideas as were embodied in the people and had their origin in the ethics of their race.

As a careful student of history Bismarck echoed the voice of centuries charging Papacy with his nation's economic and political misfortunes. From a historical standpoint he accepted as his guiding principle that the unity of Germany and her safety depended on the triumph of Protestantism in Germany and on the exclusion of the Papacy from Europe. Consequently all his efforts were directed against the Papacy; its downfall was his special goal. Therefore his foreign policy had these objective points: the exclusion of Catholic Austria from Germany; the disruption of France as the foremost Catholic and Latin power; and the unification of Italy with Rome as her capital. To secure the fruits of success and Teuton and Anglo-Saxon civilization from assault by the Asiaticizing tendency and ever growing powers of Russia, her disruption became an important factor in all his calculations as to the future political conditions of Europe, though an aggressive policy against the Czar's empire appeared not an immediate necessity but one of opportunities, whenever the influx of moral ideas and economic agencies should have corroded the fetters which confine the heterogeneous elements of Russia in a body politic.

From these conclusions all of Bismarck's political movements, his domestic and foreign policy must be judged. He succeeded in ousting Austria and therewith to block the game which Papal diplomacy played in the relations of the minor German states to each other and to the federal government and to clear the path for a closer federation. He defeated France and revived the German empire, the dream of the German idealists and youth. He negotiated the treaty of Frankfort with the mental reservation that under a republican form of government the passions of the Gaul would rend France asunder. The prompt and bloody suppression of the Commune in 1871, the effervescence of the spirit of revenge, and the extraordinary recuperative powers of the French people made France again a military power of the first order.

This unexpected result of the war of 1870 led to the formation of the Triple-Alliance to protect Germany's Eastern frontier and to better utilize the revolutionary forces of Poland and if necessary those of Italy.

SECTION IX

The Eastern Question and the Eastern Pope. The Eastern question had its origin in the growth of the Russian empire, and Peter the Great stood sponsor at its cradle; it is the exerescence of the policy, inaugurated by Peter, and so religiously followed up by his successors, and it may be safely said that the very existence of the Russian empire, as now constituted, and the reign of the house of Romanoff depend on this policy, the avowed object of which is the dismemberment of the Ottoman and Austrian Empires and the conquest of China and the Indies. The conquest of Constantinople is the manifest destiny of the rulers of Russia, and has been so considered over a thousand years. The possession of this city is the objective point of Russian policy in Europe. It is a magnificent dream and once realized, Russia rules the Eastern world.

Constantinople is to the Czars what Rome is to the Popes. Once in possession of Constantinople the slavie empire would overshadow Europe and conquer the Indies, China and Japan. It would reach further East.

When Germany was merely a union of the loosest character, and as such, in fact, was powerless, Russia held it to be a wise policy and one furthering her interest to assume the character of a protector, and thus by the weight of her influence and the artifices so peculiar to her diplomacy to frustrate every attempt by the German people for real unity and constitutional government. The Holy Alliance entered into by Russia, Austria and Prussia at Vienna in 1815, ostensibly for mutual protection against the Prisoner of St. Helena, was generated in the fertile brain of Nesselrode for this very purpose. The Holy Alliance served well its unholy purposes until the year 1848, when German unity was nearly attained by the action of a revolutionary Assembly. William IV of Prussia, with the advice of Emperor Nicholas of Russia, refused to accept the imperial crown of United Germany and the revolutionary movement expired; yet it became apparent to Russia's statesmen, well knowing that patriotic and progressive ideas, once generated, will forever live and finally become substantiated, that the Protestant house of Hohenzollern formed already too strong a nucleus in case Prussia became fully aware of her mission, or another Frederick the Great came to rule her. But Prussia once reduced to a second or third rate

Power, this danger to Russian policy was forever removed. To this end Nicholas I entered into an alliance with France and Austria (the latter paying the price for the subjugation of Hungary), it being agreed upon that France should annex the Rhenish provinces, Austria Silesia, and Russia Posen and Prussia proper. The allied armies, with the exception of the French, had taken up their strategical positions in Poland and Bohemia before Prussia became cognizant of the danger threatening her very existence. A lavish expenditure of money and the quick resolve to again revolutionize Poland and Hungary and to subsidize the radical parties in France averted the danger, but this so upset the equanimity of Nicholas that at a conference in Warsaw he struck the Count of Brandenburg, the uncle of William I and Prussia's secret diplomatic agent. The Count immediately returned to Berlin and there, after having duly reported the disgraceful occurrence, shot himself on the day of his arrival, November 6, 1850. The *Court Journal* reported his death as the result of a rupture of the heart. Since then it is the tradition of the house of Hohenzollern that the blow struck at the honor of the royal house must be avenged.

Twice before Russia made advances to France to divide Europe between them. In his memoirs Napoleon I says: "Alexander proposed the partition of the Ottoman empire, and in case I assented would have guaranteed my possessions in Germany." Constantinople always saved the Porte. In a letter, dated Tsarsko Selo, November 6, 1829, Nicholas proposed to Charles X of France another partition. He said: "You are not in possession of your natural frontiers, therefore you are not a first rate power. Advance your lines to the Rhine, and across the Alps and the Pyrenees, and France is constituted." Nicholas demanded Constantinople. In his answer, declining the offer, dated St. Cloud, January 25, 1830, Charles X says: "Besides you invite me to a residence the key of which you intend to keep in your pocket."

In 1870 the non-intervention of Russia in favor of France was a political blunder which even the Russian populace was quick to perceive. Since then public opinion in Russia underwent a change in favor of France, looked upon as the natural ally. The Russian government felt the tremendous blows with which Russian policy was battered on

the battlefields of France. Russia then was not ready for war. Otherwise she would never have consented to the acquisition of Metz and Strassburg by Germany through which this Power covered its Western frontier for a defensive war, and thus will be enabled to fight with two fronts and to mass the bulk of its forces on the strategical line of the Vistula.

At one time during the early stages of the war the stupendous successes of the German army aroused the Russian government to the full extent of the danger threatening its policy in the future, and an aide-de-camp of the Czar was sent to German headquarters instructed to demand the acceptance of certain proposals made by the Russian cabinet aiming at a settlement between France and Germany. The situation became critical, and Bismarck was quick to perceive the danger to its full extent; but his sagacity and force of character were equal to the emergency. The answer given to the Russian aide-de-camp at once had the desired effect—the withdrawal of the proposals. Bismarck said:—"His Majesty the King of Prussia cannot accept your proposals. I have advised my august Sovereign to order the Fifth army corps and General Steinmetz to our Eastern frontier in case you should not receive instructions to withdraw your proposals within a reasonable time." If it is considered that at the time this army corps was entirely composed of Poles, the significance of the answer becomes apparent.

SECTION X

The Russian-French Alliance and England's Politicians. After the conclusion of the treaty of Frankfort and the restoration of order in France, President Thiers negotiated through General Fleury with the Russian Chancellor General Gortchakoff an entente pledging the assistance of France to Russia's oriental policy with the understanding that she would use her good offices to prevent a second invasion of France. The agreement was not of the nature of a provisional treaty; though it was without fixed or binding elements, yet, it was considered a preliminary to the negotiation of an alliance. The exchange of the ratifications took place at Nice, October 2, 1871. Copies of the agreement were then already in the hands of Bismarck and Moltke. They immediately prepared for another war

against France before her army and that of Russia, then scattered over an immense territory, could be reorganized. In this, England's diplomacy, adroitly employing the ambition of a woman, crossed Bismarck's path.

After the Franco-German war, the English manufacturers and merchants were suddenly confronted with German competition. Having paid no attention to the silent preparations which the German governments had made since 1850 to enable their people to enter successfully into collective industry and the world's commerce, such as the establishment of mercantile, maritime and industrial schools of every grade, and to the immense intellectual progress of the German nation during a period of democratic exaltation and ethical culture, the dwarfed intellect of England's counting-room statesmen found the solution of the perplexing question in the indemnity paid by France to Germany and in her territorial enlargement. Therefore they felt bound to resist the further aggrandizement of Germany and in the paltry "Gladstonian spirit" rather jeopardized England's political future to Russian and French aggressions than to forego the traders' immediate profits and to miss the opportunity for revenge on a statesman who, as they well knew, despised them as intellectual manikins and creatures of the accidents of party politics and of the marts and by-ways of popular ferment, unable to profit from the past, to secure a reasonable tenure of office for creative purposes, or to frame under the changed conditions of the latter part of the nineteenth century a comprehensive foreign policy looking to the lasting greatness of England true to her history and evolved from the racial characteristics and traditions of her people.

Unfortunately for Germany and the cause of the Reformation at this critical period the Crown-Princess of that country was an English woman whose pernicious meddling in politics Bismarck had more than once, often ungallantly, rebuked. At the great age of William I having the Imperial crown within easy reach, and, therefore, possessed of a natural aversion towards every political movement endangering its stability, this woman filled the old Emperor's mind, who was fast approaching his dotage, with misgivings as to the outcome of a war with Russia and France. England's selfishness and a woman's spite isolated England and exposed her to the combined assault by

these countries. Once convinced of the necessity of another war with France as a first class military power Bismarck zealously maintained the *entente cordial* with Russia.

SECTION XI

William II and Bismarck's Russian Policy. This feature of Bismarck's policy was the real though hidden cause of his retirement from office. William II, in the self-consciousness and imperiousness of youth, exalted by ambition and tradition, urged onward by the military court-party and English intrigues, and thirsting for glory thought it possible to face the arch-enemies of his empire at the same time and to beat them in a campaign with two fronts. The poor condition of the Italian army, the unwillingness of the German people to entrust the fate of the nation into the keeping of an inexperienced youth, the ever swelling chorus of public discontent and condemnation of the policy of ingratitude, and the corroding belief, manifesting itself everywhere, that the ship of state was drifting rudderless on the current of mediocracy to wanton destruction gave warning of impending danger to the house of Hohenzollern and to the young emperor the second sober thought.

Through the reconciliation of the ex-Chancellor, William II escaped the inexorable judgment of history, and the cause of Protestantism was again advanced on the road to final and complete triumph. The imposing demonstration of patriotism and gratitude with which Bismarck was received in the German capital and the imperial honors paid to him by William II foreshadowed the future policy of the German empire: to sacrifice every consideration for one purpose, the defeat of France and through it the expulsion of the Papacy from Europe and the disruption of Russia. The solution of the Russian or Asiatic question may be safely left to the future. Every year passing into time, every progress in civilization, each territorial acquisition with the exception of Constantinople, and particularly that of every stretch of sea-coast, all commercial treaties, the increase and perfection of the army and the growth of maritime power weaken the slav colossus standing on feet of clay. If left to the ravages of time and the sapping process of Western ideas the Russian empire will fall by its own weight. Furthermore, whenever the Papal

question shall have been solved, the reintegration of the Polish empire to its former territorial extent Eastward will paralyze Russia's military strength and create a buffer-state capable of repelling the invasion of the Asiatic hordes. Absolutism and its sequence, corruption, nihilism and famine will work the ruin of Peter the Great's creation. The manifest destiny of Holy Russia cannot be the destruction of the higher civilization of Western Europe or the control of the Mediterranean Sea; it is the subjugation of the peoples and roaming tribes of Middle Asia and their conversion to Christianity and its civilization.

SECTION XII

The Anarchists and the Political Papacy. Bismarck's policy has been thoroughly understood by the Papal camarilla and the Jesuits. It was by them thoroughly understood, when they attempted his assassination by an ignorant zealot, when they opened the sluice-gates of the reactionary and sensational press the world over to discredit him, when all the wiles of priestcraft were employed against him, when the leader of the ultramontane or black party in the German Parliament, Windhorst, played the nefarious game which was the direct cause of Bismarck's retirement. Hardly had the giant of anti-Roman politics disappeared from the political stage, apparently discredited forever, when the Papal blessings were bestowed on anarchical France and her corrupt, immoral, and atheistic politicians.

Astute Leo XIII suddenly became a convert to republicanism and sacrificed at the altar of Papal ambition the unfortunate Catholic Poles and gave them over to the mercies of the Czar, to the tortures of the knout and to the lingering anguish of death in the mines and snow clad wilderness of Siberia, that the Cossack of the Eastern Pope might hob-nob with the Gaul of the Western Pope, and that the unholy alliance of barbarous Russia and chauvinistic France might crush the civilization of the Teuton and Anglo-Saxon and Protestantism *ad majorem Dei gloriam*—to enable the Papacy to maintain its foothold in Europe.

That the Papal camarilla is aware of its impending fate there can be no doubt. Its change of front in its hypocritical professions of sympathy with republican institu-

tions, its secret connection with the anarchists to whom it extended the hand of fellowship supplying the vagabonds and rascals of dynamite fame with funds, the pious offerings of Peter's pence, for the nefarious and death-dealing game; the mission of Sartolli and his successors to the United States as advance agents and quartermasters, and its policy toward the Italian government and people are ample proof.

The infernal character of Papal interference in the internal affairs of the Italian nation has been evinced by the instigation of the anarchical outbreaks in Sicily and other parts of Italy. It has been clearly demonstrated that the threads of the foul conspiracy were held and pulled by a Romish priest enjoying the confidence of the Pope, and that cathedral cannon rung out the tocsin to rouse the people into insurrection. Shortly before the outbreak occurred, an article was published in a Paris journal called the *Paix Sociale*, foreshadowing the insurrection and outlining the hopes of the Papacy. The article proposed the reëstablishment of the Papal States and the division of Italy into nine sovereign States autonomous in domestic matters and confederated only for purposes of commerce and of foreign policy under the directory of His Holiness the Pope.

Deeply scrutinizing the political events of the few years preceding 1894 one becomes convinced of an understanding having been between Russia, France and the Papacy in relation to an early European war and the policy of these Powers in case of a successful issue. Russia was to take possession of Constantinople and of Asia with the exception of further India, France to restore the *Patrimonium Petri* and to extend her frontiers as proposed by Nicholas I and her dominion over Africa. The part assigned to the Papacy in the drama of war, or rather in its mounting, was the instigation of a rebellion in Italy of such dimensions as to employ for its suppression all the energies of the Italian army and therewith set it *hors de combat* and withhold it effectively from the theater of war. The Papacy is well aware that the first shot fired in a European war, in which Italy under the present form of government takes part, is the signal for the expulsion of the Papacy from Italy and the establishment of a National Church. The Papacy had done the work assigned to it. The unex-

pected appearance of Bismarck on the political stage, the discovery made in France that under the régime of the statesmen of Panama fame corruption had undermined the efficiency of the army and embezzled the millions provided for the equipment of the fleet, the fortresses, and army magazines, the famine and pestilence in Russia, the embargo suddenly laid by Germany and Austria on Russian agricultural products, and the corresponding appalling distress of the Bojars threatening the dynasty of the Romanoffs, and the character of the outbreak in Italy which clearly showed that the Papacy, though able to call at will the spirits of anarchism was not able to control or to banish them, were events which imperatively commanded a halt. European society had recognized the fact that the Papacy had again been ready to bring about the European cataclysm.

SECTION XIII

Italy, the Papacy, and the Triple-Alliance. When Italy reached the height of her political power through a concourse of international circumstances largely of Bismarck's creation, in the programme of the future he assigned to her as a Catholic Power the execution of the finale in the Papal tragedy, and, in the reconstruction or readjustment of European society, the leadership of the Latin race.

Papal and Bourbon government had left Italian society in a chaotic condition. Failing to profit by the example set by teutonic Prussia sixty years before and without a learned estate educated in universities free from all clerical supervision, Italy gradually exhausted her national resources and suffered more than any European nation from the curse of Latinism and Parliamentarism, from corruption, the seeds of which were sown by the priesthood and had ripened in the hotbeds of ignorance and superstition, legacies of Papal and Bourbon misrule. To a certain extent, it is undoubtedly true, Italy was made forty-three years ago as much in spite of, as in consequence of, the revolutionary activity of Mazzini and his associates. Yet, the most intelligent of his compatriots supported the house of Savoy and opposed with all their might the Papal endeavor to ferment into a passion what the Germans call "Particularism" and the Americans "Secession," with

the result that the all-adjusting hand of time may weld the kingdom into a genuine national life.

The Italian patriots who had survived the revolutionary period and took an active part in the government of their country were also convinced that the defeat of Germany would be the signal for the disruption of Italy, that French intervention would result in the restoration of the Papacy and the rending asunder of Italy. Some forty-five years ago Crispi, while a deputy, was arrested by order of Cavour as a Mazzinist and Idealist opposing or obstructing the orderly process of the unification of Italy. Since then the Italian statesmen have moved forward in their political convictions and, with Crispi, the Italian premier, have come to recognize as their paramount duty the expulsion of the Papacy from Italy in order to secure for her people lasting security, peace and prosperity. To this end the foreign policy of Italy must be directed against France while giving energetic support to the Triple-Alliance.

Italian statesmen know too well that, now as well as in 1849, the professions of republicanism in France have not expunged her traditions of a thousand years and, therefore, will not prevent the French Bourgeoisie, whenever it shall appear to their interest, to sustain the Vatican in the policy of making the position of the Italian sovereign intolerable in Rome. It is an open secret that the establishment of a military dictatorship by Boulanger, a puppet in the hands of the Jesuits, would have been followed by French intervention in Rome. Capitalism in France, which actually prescribes her policy, to secure its privileges and to exploit and to extend its opportunities, is ever willing to pay a high price for the support of the Papacy. The outrages of the anarchists, always opportunely serving the Papal policy in the Latin countries, scare the French Bourgeois out of his wits. France with respect to the relations of Church and State will again slowly drift into a reactionary policy. The formal order to the French Catholics to accept the French republic and the insurrections in Italy were in close relation with and part of the Latin-slavic scheme of a redivision of Europe.

SECTION XIV

Gladstone—His Pro-Roman Policy and Ireland.
There are two other powerful agencies which eventually

will assist the German-Italian policy of removing the Papacy from Europe. Notwithstanding the present idiotic foreign policy of the British statesmen England is menaced by Russia, France, and the Papacy, the latter absolutely controlling the political action of the Irish people. Since England became one of the great Powers of Europe her government relied for defensive and offensive purposes on her navy and on the military strength of Germany. Because of the change in naval warfare and armaments the military efficiency and therefore the unity of Germany is England's only salvation. So long as Germany is able to act as a covering party against France and Russia, England will be able to protect her military routes, to repel an invasion, and to stop the progress of Russia in Asia.

The foreign policy of England is to-day more than ever dictated by the mercantile and manufacturing interests of the middle class and by Capitalism and consequently is neither dignified nor of broad conception. It is the policy of the trader and money-changer, a peddler's policy, selfish, cowardly and divergent from every tradition of English history. It imperils England's future to profit for the moment. Her internal policy too, of late, has given great comfort to her enemies—France and Russia.

The present anti-German policy of England's ruling classes really dates from the times of huckstering Manchester and blustering Brummagem, of the Grand Old Talker, Gladstone, the archetype of the modern parliamentarian of whom Huxley says: "that he is endowed with that mellifluous eloquence which, under a representative form of government leads far more surely than worth, capacity, or honest work, to the highest places in Church and State."

True to his Celtic descent Gladstone had brushed aside the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon, had neutralized the beneficial results of the English revolution and of Cromwell's Irish policy, had set his bourgeois conception of men and things and his ever ready tongue wagging against the experience drawn from centuries of English history. His inordinate vanity and ambition had inoculated him with infidelity to his country's weal. The decision must be left to history whether knowingly or not he has been the agent and instrument of the Jesuitical policy of rule or ruin, of its avowed purpose of either Romanizing Eng-

land or of destroying her empire. The Home Rule Bill which this perverter of Anglo-Saxon policy and mountebank of liberalism attempted to pass would have been a wedge driven by Jesuitism to the very core of English society and into the imperial system of the government of Great Britain. Home Rule granted to Ireland must result in the building up of a hostile state, a dependency of the Papacy ever useful and handy to intimidate England's statesmen and Parliament and to paralyze the functions of her government. It will, in fact, mean nothing less than that the government by the people of England will virtually be superseded by a government by the grace of his Holiness the Pope.

Ireland is the thorn in England's body politic. This thorn can only be removed with the surgeon's knife. The policy of "blood and iron" is the only proper prescription for Irish frenzy and swagger. The Saxon and the Celt will never dwell in harmony under the same roof; the latter will never merge into the former's civilization. One must rule, the other must submit or disappear. So long as Irish representatives are seated in Parliament, so long as the policy of conciliation is applied to a people by nature destined never to be fitted into the frame of any modern or popular government, to a people in heart and soul loyal only to a foreign Power and therefore, as also by racial shortcomings, non-qualified for self-government, so long will Ireland menace England's peace and prosperity. The Italian prelates despise and loathe the Irish; they despise them on account of their idiotic submission and superstition, they loathe them for their brutishness, vulgarity, treachery and corruption. But they are useful and handy tools of Popery wherever they secure a foothold. They are, in riches and in poverty, liberal contributors to the Peter's pence-fund, and when politically successful, always ready to surrender the larger share of their pickings and stealings to the keepers of their elastic conscience. They are Papal garrisons and outposts, Pretorians always ready to fight and to betray each other or to murder liberty.

The Irish agrarian movement like the insurrection in Italy and other anarchical outrages originated in the Vatican. All these social disorders had and have a common objective point—the furtherance of the Papal designs on the liberty, the conscience and the riches of the nations

thus threatened or assailed. To divert suspicion and to arouse liberal support Jesuitical diplomacy placed at the head of the Irish agrarian movement, which had and has nothing in common with democracy, a Protestant, Stewart Parnell. When it was thought politic to remove the mask, Parnell was discredited: the moral shortcomings of his private life, long known in the Vatican, were published to the world. Shortly thereafter, at a very opportune moment, Parnell died. Gladstone resigned and retired forever from the political stage.

Judged by contemporaneous history the Grand Old Man is certainly not a subject for heroic song. Future generations may assign him a place in the galaxy of great orators or they may couple his memory with that of Guy Fawkes.

SECTION XV

Socialism and the Teuton Race. The Socialist Labor Party, wherever it has spread as it did in Germany and of late in England and the United States, steadily withdraws the urban population from the support of all reactionary agencies and gradually impresses the rural population.

Whenever labor shall have been fully aroused to the necessity of political action, the intellectual and social advancement of the masses will not be on international lines as confidentially expected by the Semitic and Idealist leaders of Socialism, but on national or rather racial lines and therefore in the United States, Germany and England in an orderly manner. There the masses will assist in the expulsion of the Papacy from Europe because presently they will understand that Romanism always has been and always must be the most effective agent in the exploitation of the masses and for the maintenance of a social order of artificial inequalities and this furthermore, because the masses are always moved by the traditions of their race. Of course, before the Socialistic Labor Party in the United States, Germany and England shall directly assail the stronghold of superstition it will have so constructed its platform and readjusted itself as to be in harmony with the ethics of the Reformation and therefore of Christianity, that is, with the characteristics of the Teuton and Anglo-Saxon.

Every social advancement to be lasting must have its origin in the tradition of ages and races and must be formulated and put in motion by men born and reared within the pale of these traditions and living within them. Social orders cannot be manufactured by command. Moses and Mohammed merely systematized and codified that which was an intellectual growth and racial development of centuries. Even Christianity has been and is to-day subject to this law of nature. On racial lines it moves to perfection, to the ideal of the ideal man. Paul was its true delineator. Descendants of the Latin, Semitic or Slavic races though they were of the highest intellect and gifted with prophetic vision, cannot plan a social order for the Teuton or Anglo-Saxon, because in mind and soul they are foreign to each other.

Nor can this be accomplished by plans constructed on scientific principles, if that were possible, in an age of imperfect, garbled and unreliable statistics and of transition in economic and political formations. Sociology, as yet, is in its infancy and can hardly claim the virtues of an abstract science. It is therefore a reasonable supposition that the time has not arrived to build a universal social structure on scientific foundations, certainly the time is gone when such a structure could rest on revelation. In the age of machine-guns and Papal encyclicals it cannot rest on an ideal conception of human nature. The disorderly and chauvinistic action of the Latin delegations to the international socialistic Congress held in Switzerland, and the history of the labor movement in the United States should have convinced the leaders of the Socialistic Labor Party in Germany and England that common descent and religious or moral training are the absolutely necessary conditions for the harmonious blending of economic ideas and purposes. Here the beneficial progress of the cause of labor has been continually interrupted by Irish selfishness, brutishness, corruption and superstition.

The first shot fired in the next European war will end the dream of an international bond of labor and will be the signal for a readjustment of the labor movements in Germany, England, and the United States along racial lines. In these countries the Socialistic Labor Party will meet with a determined opposition so long as the party leaders will divert the masses from national or racial pursuits and

feed them with utopian sports and Jacobinical vagaries of liberty spiced with Gallican immorality and Gallican effervescence.

So long as a nation, like the German, is menaced by powerful neighbors seeking revenge or conquest, by an Asiatic empire the civilization of which is that of the times of the discovery of America, so long it cannot change the social order or reduce its armament, and must of necessity as a matter of self-preservation oppose a party which gives comfort and encouragement to the nation's enemies and whose leaders are mostly of a foreign race, of cosmopolitan pretensions and either idealists or smatterers.

The last century witnessed the birth and growth of nations and of modern or true democracy, and the ascendancy of the Teutonic race; the twentieth century may witness the rise and development of democracies embracing the nations of each race in a common bond. The Protestant Teuton and Anglo-Saxon will then evolve a social order adapted to their race and its environments.

SECTION XVI

Hearken, American Democracy! In the age of rapid progress, in which distance and time are controlled by the human will, in which every pulsation of the heart of nations is felt throughout Christendom, the fate of the Papacy in Europe is of vast importance to the people of the United States where Romish influences are already shaping the policy of the great political parties. Certain it is that the Germans and Anglo-Saxons of England will not permit the Papacy to stay in Europe or in any of their dependencies.

Where then will it remove to?

PART II

THE GREAT AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

SECTION I

The Moral Causes of the American Revolution. An English political economist of 1690, in a tract included in the "Harleian Miscellany," said of the English colonies in America, "that England need have no jealousy of colonies which raised only sugar and tobacco, and thus gave her a market; but she must keep anxious watch on those colonies which disputed the traffic and competed with England in trade and threatened in time a total independence therefrom." Undoubtedly the writer correctly expressed and forecast the opinion and policy of the ruling classes in England in their relation to the American colonies. It was one of indifference broken only by bursts of anger and spasms of commercial selfishness, the same selfishness which has governed England's foreign and colonial policy down to the present time and more than once, the last time only recently, politically isolated Great Britain and jeopardized the British empire.

From the date of signing the Navigation Act in 1660, prescribing that no merchandise should be imported into the plantations but in English vessels navigated by Englishmen, to the "Writs of Assistance" of 1760 which gave authority to search any home for merchandise liable to duty, the policy of England toward the American colonies had been dictated not by despotic desires but solely by the selfishness of her middle class which, on account of its secure social and political position, had developed this moral defect centuries before it manifested itself in other countries and was generally recognized as the pronounced or rather historical character of the class.

It cannot be denied that such a policy was productive of constant irritation and pecuniary loss to entire classes of the colonial population, yet, it could not lead to a revo-

lution, to an upheaval so general and spontaneous, as that which culminated in 1776 and which had for its goal the independence of the colonies. Revolutions are as much the effect of emotions as the result of calculations or of purely economic grievances. England's trade policy did not directly affect the masses in the American colonies, or the learned estate, and only slightly the planter aristocracy. The classes suffering loss and annoyance, the merchants and factors, and their connections, are the least given to revolutionary action, and their social and political influence on the masses is the very reverse of that which arouses patriotism or revolutionary fervor. Merchants make bad revolutionists. So far as the ruling classes in the North were concerned, the tendency to separation might have long remained latent and inoperative, even after the Seven-Years' War, when England asserted the right of taxation by Parliament, interfered in the colonies' internal affairs, checked the growth of popular powers, and executed obnoxious laws which had lain dormant. All the measures and movements of the English government and of the American colonists in the see-saw game of securing economic and political advantages were only incidents of a family quarrel. The child approaching maturity acquires consciousness and gradually claims a wider latitude of action.

To explain the sudden disruption of the family ties, we must look to the profound underlying moral forces which only made the *Declaration of Independence* possible. The Stamp Act, though it was an Act of momentous consequence in the history of mankind, was rather an occasion than a cause. The moral forces which moved the people of the American colonies to revolution had their sources in the ethics of the Reformation and of Anglo-Saxondom.

With the exception of Virginia, the people of the colonies were nonconformists. In the New England colonies they were Puritans. The Dutch in New York belonged to the Reformed Church. The German settlers in New York, Pennsylvania and North Carolina were Lutherans. The South had been settled by private adventurers, mostly representatives of divers denominations dissenting from the Anglican Church. In some parts of the South and North, as for instance, in North and South Carolina and in the Jerseys, the churches had lost their hold on the people, who

hardly preserved the form of religion. The Southern planters had been partly gallicized, that is, their attitude toward Christianity grew out of a superficial knowledge of the philosophy of the humanists of the sixteenth century, typified in Erasmus, and of that of the skeptics of the eighteenth century, typified in Voltaire. The dependent masses in the South were religiously altogether indifferent. Children were growing up unbaptized and uneducated, and the dead were buried without any Christian rites. At the time of the *Declaration of Independence* the common people had very little more knowledge of a Savior than the aboriginal natives.

The vast majority of the people in the colonies opposed the Anglican Church which many thought no less objectionable than Romanism. In New England the hostility of the people to the Church of England was so marked that the Anglican communicants were persecuted and deprived of citizenship. With the spread of Congregationalism the Separatist movement attacking the Church of England as an unchristian body and proclaiming the doctrine that Church and State should be mutually independent exerted a powerful influence. The Lutherans saw no difference in the Anglican and Roman ritual and hierarchy and had not the sense of loyalty to the English or to the English crown. They hated royalty, aristocracy, and the hierarchy, from whose persecutions they had fled to America, martyrs of liberty and of the Protestant faith. The Dutch had not forgotten that the English were their conquerors, and that the Anglican Church and English royalty had more than once sided with the enemies of the Netherlands in their struggle for civic and religious liberty. All these people hated the Anglican Church no less than the Roman Church and to them the King of England, as the head of the Established Church, was but another Pope.

In 1701 "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was incorporated in England with the avowed purpose of converting the people of the English colonies to Anglicanism and thereby to strengthen the political ties between the mother country and the dependencies. The efforts of the missionaries with the masses, North and South, were almost fruitless, but in the North the upper and moneyed classes were drawn into the Anglican community which gradually, like the Roman Church

in our times, exerted a power and an influence out of all proportion to her numerical strength. *Thus public opinion identified Anglicanism with aristocracy and plutocracy and suspected the missionaries and the converts of sinister designs on the liberties of the people* and the English government of the purpose to coerce the people into the Established Church. The attempts made by the Governors of the colonies to tax the people for the support of the missionaries and to provide glebe lands, gave color to the suspicions generally entertained. These almost grew into conviction when the English government, after the close of the Seven-Years' War, exerted pressure to enforce the provincial laws and to make good the grants for the sustenance of the Anglican establishments.

The Puritan and Lutheran clergy gave expression in the pulpit to what the masses instinctively felt, namely: that the Anglican Church did not fully represent the ethics of the Reformation or those of the Teuton race; that the organization of the Anglican Church was more by royal command for royal purposes than by popular assent; that the Church of England was, therefore, a royal institution socially and politically hostile to democracy. The clergy and the learned knew that with the firm establishment of the Anglican Church in the colonies, popular rights were threatened, and all advances towards democracy would be arrested. Religious motives were mainly the propelling forces with the intelligent in their revolutionary movement against the mother-country. The masses responded to the emotions, as they always do, of their superiors in intellect and in moral energy. This is clearly demonstrated by some very significant events in the history of the American revolution. The first flag raised in New York by the "Sons of Liberty" in 1776 was inscribed *No Popery*. The New York Convention, in 1777, and other States thereafter, established conditions of naturalization and laws which virtually excluded Catholics and Anglicans from citizenship. *No Papacy and no King* was the battle cry of the Lutherans on that bloody afternoon of the Oriskany fight, where with shattered knee Herkimer sat smoking his pipe and issuing orders, while the German colonists of the Mohawk Valley defeated and blocked St. Leger and probably saved the cause of the colonies.

In Herkimer and Hale, both the very incarnation of the

ethics of the Reformation, and the heroic persons of the War of Independence, were embodied the true causes of the American revolution, the moral forces underlying it.

The outbreak of the Revolution was the signal for a general persecution and proscription by all the dissenters throughout the country of Anglican clergymen, missionaries, and laymen. They were driven, almost naked, from hearth and home and were forbidden to return under penalty of death. Nearly all the Anglican Churches were shut up. The persecutions had the same motives which a century before caused the resistance of the colonies to the English government's attempt to take away the charters, Increase Mather advising them to make the same answer as Naboth made to Ahab, when the latter asked for his vineyard, that they would not give up the inheritance of their fathers. That opposition to the Anglican Church was then a general movement in all dissenting bodies and actually decided the struggle for Independence is further shown by the fact that Protestant Dissenters composed the flower of the famous volunteer army of 1782 which, in Ireland, extorted legislative independence from England and virtually compelled the concession of independence to the American colonies.

It is a phenomenon of history that in times of social degeneration and of the demoralization of the ruling classes in any country these always either attempt the religious coercion of the people or favor a reactionary policy in matters intellectual and spiritual. The desire of the English government to extend the influence of the Anglican Church had its source in the demoralization of the English aristocracy and in the retrogression of royalty to personal government. The intelligence and conscience of the North revolted against the one, the pride and conscience of the South against the other. The Southern planters, in their revolutionary opposition to the mother country, were moved more by personal than by political grievances. They were skeptics and paid little attention to religious matters. They were only prejudiced against the Anglican Church in so far as her missionaries attempted the christianization of the slaves or, as was the case in Virginia, the tobacco tax paid towards the support of the Established Church became oppressive and annoying. It is doubtful whether the Southern planters would ever have

rebelled against royalty but for the corruption of the English government in the eighteenth century, a state of affairs having a demoralizing effect on the selection of the crown's official representatives in the colonies.

Walpole's political morality "that every man and woman had his or her price" which, during the greater part of the eighteenth century was the guiding principle of the English administration, bore evil fruit on American soil. The English officials in the colonies as a rule were blacklegs and outcasts whom even the rotten society and the corrupt politicians of England could no longer endure. These demoralized, vulgar, and often unlettered sprigs of aristocracy assumed in America an overbearing demeanor and improved every opportunity to snub the planters of the South who, in their seclusion from the world's culture, caricatured the grand manner, the grace, and chivalry of the aristocracies of Europe. The English officials treated the Southern planters much in the same fashion as the European aristocracy of to-day treats the American shoddy aristocracy cringing before royalty—with contempt, now only less openly shown because the shoddyists have riches and the planters had debts. The descendants of the adventurers who settled the South bore no love for the common people; they were arrogant, fed by the labor of slaves, and spent their time in hunting, racing, gambling, and general dissipation, and in their seclusion paid little attention to the progress of the world in ideas. Of democracy, only a few had the conviction of the philosopher, with others it was but a subject of after dinner speeches, because it was the latest fad from Paris. All, however, were anxious to rid the country of the English officials, to supplant them, and to shine forth as a true-blue, dyed-in-the-wool aristocracy. The humane did not at all enter into their political calculations or aspirations.

The General commanding the Hessians in the War of Independence, Baron Riedesel, wrote of the Yeomen of New England "as being thick set, tolerably tall, wearing blue frocks girt by a strap, and having their heads surmounted by yellow wigs, *with the honorable visage of a magistrate beneath, inquisitive, curious, and zealous to madness for liberty.*"

This curt German soldier gives the best description of an element in society that in all ages and countries, since

the advent of Christ, has been the standard bearer of progress and the soldiery in revolutionary movements advancing humanity. Whenever this class is dissatisfied and feels oppressed within the framework of society and their leaders of the learned estate too have cause for dissatisfaction, then, at that very moment, not only the government but the order of society is doomed.

The idea of equality before the law which was the offspring of the English commonwealth, and which on account of the adverse influences of law, usage, and tradition Cromwell was unable lastingly to embody in English society, had at the time of the close of the Seven-Years' War become a reality in New England. The "thick set, tolerably tall Yeomanry of New England, zealous to madness for liberty," were then the embodiment of the ideas of Hampden, Milton and Cromwell, of the traditions of the Teuton race, and of the ethics of the Reformation. The men "with the honorable visage of a magistrate" were a living protest against the hereditary privileged class principle. Their leaders, the clergymen, the physicians, the lawyers, and the schoolmasters of the villages had a moral grievance; they suffered a moral wrong of a nature which in private life and in that of nations is held to be righted only by an appeal to arms—a moral wrong of a nature which made Hale regret that he had only one life to sacrifice in the attempt to right it.

Students at Yale and Harvard were arranged according to the social position of their parents. According to this position the young students were placed in the dining hall and the recitation room, and upon this was also based the choice of college rooms. Had they always retained this relative position it would have been less galling, but while the most distinguished student from the common people could not rise in the list, the reprobates from the classes could fall, and the best scholar in the class might find himself not merely in a low position through his parentage, but flanked on each side by the scions of more famed families who had been degraded by their own folly or vice. The social line was strictly drawn, and the most severe punishment inflicted for crimes and dishonorable acts committed by the sons of the nobility and quality was the degradation of the malefactor to the class of students descended from the common herd. Thus the most cultured,

the most conscientious, and the most intellectual of the people were stamped a class of pariahs, of outcasts from society, without honor, without conscience, and without any rights of mind and body.

To the mental tortures of the students descended from the common people were added religious grievances. After the Seven-Years' War these colleges were thoroughly anglicanized. They were placed under the control of Anglican Presidents, the President of Yale at that time being a convert. To emancipate themselves from social degradation and from intellectual and religious bondage a thousandfold worse than chattel slavery, the Dissenting students had to overthrow the existing social order. To gain their goal, political independence from England was first of all necessary. *The social emancipation of the learned estate in the colonies demanded the American revolution.*

SECTION II

The Agencies of Democracy. When the people of the United Colonies had achieved independence and were ready to organize a national government, their character and institutions, economic conditions and prospects differed from those of any other civilized people and, with one exception, were extremely favorable to national progress, and, in the North, to that of democracy. They could draw upon the bountiful and unparalleled resources of a virgin continent. No powerful neighbors demanded the maintenance of large armies exhausting such resources and the productive forces of youth and manhood. They were able to utilize the experiences of European civilization without the necessity of incurring its evils. Of the same race and speech, and of the Protestant faith, the future of the American people promised peace and prosperity. Yet, an ominous cloud hovered on the political horizon, overshadowing the moral life of the people, obstructing the humane in their aspirations, and threatening with destruction any structure the wisest of the nation might build. Hovering over its destiny was—slavery.

During the long continued struggle with the aborigines and hostile neighbors, with nature to be subdued, and in the contest and, finally, in the war with the mother-country the ruling classes had acquired self-reliance, religious

and economic independence, and a strong desire for self-government. The country's financial poverty and the limits formerly set by England's selfishness for the colonies' commerce and industry were not propitious to the accumulation of great riches in the hands of the few. The scarcity of its population scattered over a vast territory without metropolitan cities left hardly a foothold to the ambitious demagogue and imperious warrior, or to the tumultuous rule of parties. There was no fertile soil for a gradation into castes, or their augmentation, in an organic body which lacked a hereditary aristocracy and an Established Church of a hierarchical order, and was without the essence of a cultured and qualified society and those environments of luxury and refinement which tempt powerful minds to stifle conscience and to forsake the people in their lowliness and uncouthness for the allurements and voluptuousness of the drawing room.

To appreciate the immensity of the American people's social and political progress from their independence to the War of the Rebellion the fact must not be lost sight of that at the expiration of the eighteenth century our body politic was not a democratic one, that social and political equalities were the exceptions and not the rule, that in the South the masses were below the moral and social level of those in civilized Europe and that in the North the same conditions existed with only few and local exceptions, and these only slightly elevated in the humane scale.

There is no more erroneous belief than that the lofty principles expressed in the *Declaration of Independence* were the common possessions of the people at large. Only the few, whose inspirations were drawn from the writings of the French encyclopædists, men like Grotius, Puffendorf, Locke, Burlamaqui, Beccario and Montesquieu, and who had thus absorbed the political as well as the religious principles of the Reformation, and those of our student-youths who had suffered the soul-consuming torments which are the lot of higher natures of the lowly born in their struggle for recognition with the privileged and lordly, thoroughly comprehended, advocated and contended for the principles of democracy in their ideal form and placed upon the fundamental charter of our republic the indelible stamp of the humane. With the exceptions already mentioned, the masses were ignorant and stolid, in

fact, they cared naught for social and political changes of which they were not and apparently would not become the beneficiaries. The merchants knew not the duty of broad and disinterested patriotism and were as impervious to political ideals and as sordid as their class is wont to be the world over. The middle class, in its narrow provincial life, intellectually was even less advanced and less cultured than that of Europe of whose civic vices: extreme selfishness, political indolence, and a morbid opposition to all political and social advances, it was nevertheless possessed.

At the beginning of our independent political life the government of the Thirteen Colonies was not by the people, of the people, and for the people, but by the privileged for the privileged. With the exception of the commonwealth of Massachusetts the governments of States, counties and municipalities were entirely removed from the influence of the common people and did not even pretend to legislate or to administrate for their benefit; of faith in democratic government there was almost none. The leaven of aristocratic ideas had remained. Decades after the establishment of the Union it manifested itself in laws restricting the exercise of the suffrage. In nearly all the States the full enjoyment of citizenship depended on a property qualification. In many of the Northern States the patricians tenaciously and with punitive hand resisted popular tendencies. Of course, in the Southern States the status of the common people experienced no change whatever.

What then were the agencies that developed the germs of civic liberty which generated by the Reformation a century ago lay pinioned under the austerity of Puritan theocracy, into the great democracy which at the close of the long era of peace, marked by the War of the Rebellion, had taken possession of the souls of the people of the North and during that terrible struggle of the Civil War filled the lowly with the spirit of patriotism and moved them willingly to sacrifice themselves on the altar of humanity to redeem millions from bondage and to atone for the political sins of generations?

These agencies were the federal character of the constitution, the climatic restrictions placed on slavery, the influences of the French revolution, the Puritan commonwealth and its township system of government, the terri-

torial extension westward and the immigration made possible thereby, the principle of rotation in office, and the creation of States by Congress.

SECTION III

Federalism and Slavery. The articles of confederation under which in 1778 the first general government of the United States was organized secured to the States autonomy. Though certain powers were reserved to the general government it was not provided with the means to make these powers effective in the only possible way, i. e., by making them operative directly on the people of the States instead of on the States themselves. Under the Confederation the government of the United States was like the German "Staatenbund," a federation of States, a precarious alliance which might be dissolved at any moment.

In submitting to the change from the loose confederation of 1778 to the closer Union of 1787, to the nearly perfect federal system, the slave-holding oligarchy of the South, as the foremost representative of conservative or reactionary interests, made their first great political mistake. With the adoption of the Constitution of 1787 there was brought into life a political agency independent of the conservative organism of the States and in touch with the people at large. As a new organic body, eager to exert its independence and to increase its powers which included the power to levy taxes directly on the people and to confirm the appointees to the highest tribunal interpreting the Constitution, Congress of necessity became, so to say, the warden of the common people's political interests. Under the provisions which gave it the power to organize territories and to take them as States into the Union, it was made the arbiter of the social and political destiny of the millions who peopled the Western wilderness and extended the Republic to the Pacific Ocean. Had this process of organization been left to the adjoining States, the new bodies politic would certainly have been molded in the interests of the classes as against those of the masses.

While the federal government acted on the governments of the States it also acted directly on every citizen of these States. Thus, and through its power of direct taxation, it was made independent of the social and economic interests paramount in the States that originally created the gov-

ernment. Hence, too, every agency of the general government which, though not in theory, but in practice, had its basic idea in the *Declaration of Independence*, that is, in the inherent right of self-government, became a promoter of democratic principles. The general government in its sovereign capacity also reacted powerfully on the organism of the States and their advancement towards democracy wherever slavery did not threaten humanity with aggression. Furthermore, the federal character of our Constitution prevented an early clashing of the interests of slavery and free husbandry which under a centralized government or in a confederacy would have occurred almost immediately. By a strange fatality Southern jurists and statesmen gave no heed to the import and drift involved in the change from the union of 1778 to that of 1787. Stubbornly and purblindly adhering to the conception of a mere alliance or compact between sovereign states, and, unmindful of the teachings of history that in the life of nations political exigencies, economic changes, and social environments affect the conception of motives, the interpretation of organic laws, and the tenure of covenants, they paid little attention to the storm-clouds gathering on the Northern horizon.

So long as the people of the North followed exclusively commercial and agricultural pursuits the antagonism between slavery and freedom could not develop into an irrepressible conflict. The contentions of the politicians found vent in the wrangles of Congress, and the energies of the peoples ample scope, and their effervescence a safety valve, in the wide expanse of territory to be cultivated. The conflict became irrepressible when, in the progress of civilization, the Northern people were forced to enter into higher industries, and the two systems became confluent or one or the other reached a preponderance in wealth and population. For humanity's sake it was fortunate that the statesmen of the South were checked and intimidated by General Jackson, truly the preserver of the Union and the savior of democracy. At the first secession movement the Southern States were superior in everything needed to win out in a civil war. The North, as yet, had not reached the degree of organic cohesion, nor had it accumulated the resources necessary to carry on a prolonged and exhausting struggle. Moreover, civilized society had not yet be-

come imbued with the humane ideas concerning slavery to such an extent, nor roused by them to such a pitch as to give to them the dignity and force of a universal judgment. These ideas had not, as yet, impressed themselves upon the immigrants which then only began to arrive in numbers sufficiently strong to affect our social and economic life. With a weakling like Buchanan in the White House, the South, then, would have made good its threat of secession and established a confederacy. Having slavery as the substratum bearing the economic burden of the superstructure of society, the masses, though without the mockery of citizenship, would have been exempt from the hardships of a life-long struggle for mere existence, while the ruling class for a time might have attained the highest civic and republican virtues. Eager political rivalries and ambitious strife being ineradicable from an oligarchic system of government, the history of such a confederation would have been one of bitter political dissensions within and almost constant warfare without.

In the North, Puritan theocracy free from hierarchism or legerdemain, but also without the graces of a higher culture and cosmopolitan and humane inclinations, would have extended its rule of Spartan rigor to the utter exclusion of liberty of conscience, personal freedom, scientific research, and the amenities of life. Of nearly equal strength, divergent in politics and social customs, with a mutual dislike approaching race hatred, it would have been but a question of time when both sections should have battled for the mastery. Under the conditions then prevailing, such a struggle would have invited European interference and closed with the despoiling of the continent. The world over, democracy would have suffered a set-back for centuries. A division of the Union in 1832 must have stopped immigration. The Pacific coast states would now be dependencies of England, and her treasures would have enabled her aristocracy to rule the world. With the downfall of the great American Republic the light of liberty would have been extinguished and the darkness of reaction settled down on the civilized world.

The lowly of all nations, the millions who found homes and freedom upon our shores, and the people of Europe who are nearing the goal of liberty owe to Andrew Jackson *a debt immense of endless gratitude.*

Notwithstanding its conservative character and its desperate fight against Northern democracy in the political arena, Southern society was more republican than were the ruling classes of the Northern States who for generations after the establishment of the Union bewailed the loss of prestige and grieved over the spread of popular tendencies. It cannot be denied that the influence exercised by the planter aristocracy on the national government and its foreign policy was as beneficial as it was decisive. After the War of Independence they cultivated all the graces and many of the virtues requisite for the enlightened government of a great nation, such as tolerance to customs, perspicacity and comity in international relations, a quick sense of conventional honor, and an exalted pride in republican citizenship and of patriotism. It is the impartial sense of history that to the exercise of these virtues by Southern statesmen the preservation of the Union in its infancy over against European aggressions is largely due.

Being free from all that is sordid in the industrial or commercial character, the planter aristocracy insisted on an honest administration, impressed on it a certain nobility of action, prevented the ingress of the jobber's greed, and suppressed the extravagant, often cranky notions and rough and ready theories and statesmanship of the miscellaneous rabble called the Congress of the United States. The foreign policy was dignified and republican to the core. The peoples of Europe were deeply impressed with the purity and economy in our national administration and the vigor and republicanism of its foreign policy. They could not discern the shortcomings of our State governments and the political, social and economic evils of slavery. They only perceived the ideal, distance lent enchantment to the picture, and to the oppressed it appeared an image of the classical republics of ancient times.

It seems to have been decreed by fate that the very virtues and moral achievements of Southern statesmanship in its foreign policy, in their political and economic results, should exercise a reverse effect on the cause of the South in its final struggle for separation. For instance, when Napoleon III conceived the coalition against Mexico and with England's aristocracy and moneyed powers devised schemes of intervention in our civil war, with the ulterior purpose of destroying the great American Republic and

with it the strongest bulwark of democracy, the masses of Europe espoused our cause, and public opinion enforced the policy of neutrality. After the collapse of the widespread revolutionary movement in Europe in 1848-49, the proscribed and the liberal elements generally to whom our country appeared to be a haven of political bliss, by the tens of thousands sought refuge upon our shores and forthwith became the most outspoken opponents of slavery and the most active agents for its abolition. In fact, without the aid of the revolutionary immigrants, idealists as they were who would hold no parley with temporizers and enthusiasts, whom half concessions could not beguile, the crisis over the fate of slavery might have been postponed until the Napoleonic conspiracy for the creation of an American empire had been perfected and the North demoralized under a feudal system of capitalism and commercialism.

It is certain that in a large centralized state the slavery question would have been the pressing question from the date of the organization of the government demanding immediate solution. It is equally certain that, had the States remained totally independent or under the loose ties of the act of Union of 1778, the economic interests of the States being divergent and of a character demanding expansion, friendly relations could not have been maintained for any length of time. In either case the North American continent, as early as the middle of the last century would have been the theatre of wars destructive to the independence of each and all of the States. In the turbulent condition of the civilized world at that time England might have reconquered her former dependency. The American Republic outlived the bitter internal dissensions, fierce sectional hatred and the angry contentions over ever conflicting economic interests because of the wisdom of the framers of our constitution who elected for our organic law under the then existing economic conditions a nearly perfect system of federalism.

SECTION IV

Puritanism, Its Mission, Glory and Decline. History may not exactly repeat itself, but in the successive stages of humanity's advance towards a better condition we find that always a sustaining motive higher than gain has been

the propelling or repelling force. Man's nature does not change as to the accomplishment of his desires. Thus, the quest of gold and the desire for a life of oriental luxury being the predominant motives of the aristocratic adventurers and vagabond settlers of the Southern Colonies, the failure to find the precious metal led to the opening of the slave trade.

When with the introduction of slavery the political sins of the darkest ages against the eternal cause of justice were grafted upon the newly forming society on the American continent, there landed on the New England shore a small body of refugees who were possessed of the higher motive which alone enables man to mark out the future of a nation and to organize society on the basis of a spiritual life which can adapt itself to the necessities of coming generations and evolve the humane out of their material progress and their political aspirations. The Pilgrims brought to America the spiritual achievements of the Reformation, the moral and intellectual ascendancy of the Teutonic race, the township system transmitted through centuries from the tribal organization of the Saxons, and the most effective democratizing agent in modern society: the common schools, compulsory education.

They came here not to organize an ideal community nor a model State in which liberty of conscience and a democracy as to the things temporal should rule, but they came as adherents of Calvinism, a religious system void of sympathetic kindness and pity and the least absorbent of the humane precepts of the Reformation; they came to found a religious community on their own model, which of course had to show the good and bad points in the character of the designers individually and collectively, of their caste and creed, and in its qualifications could not advance beyond the endowments of the times.

In a community founded on religious faith the government must be of a theocratic character. Under the teachings of Calvinism, Puritan theocracy could not develop a hierarchical order or caste; it maintained social and political equality, and its powers were not derived solely from vested authority but also from moral and intellectual ascendancy. The Puritan clergy were not only the spiritual guides of their flock, but were part and parcel of its very being, an essential element in the body politic;

they shared alike in its fortunes and in its woes; they did not worship idols of gold; they were not the hired mouth-piece of the mighty and the rich, they had the moral courage of their convictions and were ready to take arms in the defense of their people's home, they believed in Christianity as the sole and complete revelation of Divine truth and in the Presbyterian creed as the true interpretation thereof. Of course, they knew not the wavering skepticism of modern times because they knew nothing of any scientific principles to be applied as a test to the Bible which was the sole guide to their spiritual and temporal government. They were intolerant because they were Calvinists and children of their time and, like the chosen people of old, were convinced of their selection. They persecuted other sects because they perceived in their teachings an incentive to a willful disobedience of the commands of God and in their every day life a political danger threatening the welfare and the established order of the commonwealth. The motives, for instance, which incited the prosecution of the Quakers were about the same which, to-day, incite society to prosecute anarchists. They gave the prosecuted a just and impartial trial according to the understanding and usages of the times. They did not, like the Southern chivalry of to-day, wantonly, kill the innocent mothers and sisters of persons of another race or faith.

The religious tenets and the theocratic form of government were not the only causes that the society, of which the Puritan clergy were the masters, in the course of time, became frigid and in a manner detached from the general advance in the ethics of the Christian world.

For centuries isolated from the civilized community at large and its progress, immured in the loneliness of their homes, under the rigor of an inhospitable climate, and within narrow confines surrounded by hostile nationalities and creeds and savages, the Puritans could not avoid developing a tribal character. The increasing struggle for existence with the barrenness of the soil and with their neighbors and a harsh and exacting church discipline exalted the character of the people and promoted self-reliance, abstinence, and chastity of the mind and body, but developed also a morbidity of consciousness and an intolerance which denied the rights of fellow-men, excluded charitableness, and refused to take cognizance of the

world's cultural advances and virtues. Retrograding into fanaticism and a moral rigor morbis Puritan society lost the ability to assimilate the humane.

Such was the tribal character of the Puritans when they entered into their mission of exploiting the wilderness of the West and Northwest and of founding therein strongholds of democracy from which great armies sallied forth to deliver the republic from the thralldom of slavery and to start and to push forward one of the great and sudden advancements of the human race.

The township-system of government which the Pilgrim fathers had brought from their English homes and on which, aided by the experience gained during their short sojourn in the Netherlands, they built up their political structures, had qualified the New England people for the establishment of purely democratic states. In the theocratic communities of Massachusetts we must recognize the source from which the flow of democratic ideas pervaded all the political institutions of the United States. The township-system enforced the presence of all qualified citizens at the primary assemblies to take a direct part in legislation and thus it tended to give to the citizens, individually and collectively, the political education and the moral worth which prevents the vices of ignorance and corruption. While it makes it the duty and right of every citizen to exercise direct judgment on public affairs, it develops in the individual consciousness of power and therefore independence and thereby prevents class rule and the despotism of parties. Wherever the Puritans founded commonwealths, followed agricultural pursuits and were not brought into direct and sudden contact with the culture of the world at large, or into competition with it, they preserved nearly all the traits of tribal character and fulfilled the mission by nature entrusted to them.

A political and social order resting on qualifications peculiar to its constituency and essentially the creation of creed and environments can only last in the self-sufficiency of economic and social exclusion and under the spiritual and material conditions under which it came into existence. Sparta fell and her virtues vanished when her ruthless warriors attempted to graft her tribal character and spiritual nature upon the highly cultured commonwealths of their race. When, therefore, Puritanism moved from its moral

base, overstepped its natural confines, and came into contact and competition with the world's culture at a period of its most rapid progress, intellectually and materially, the tribal traits deteriorated, frugality turned into greed, chastity of mind and abstinence into vulgarism, industry into craftiness, and faith into hypocrisy. Breaking away from the sternness of Calvinism the Puritan communities began drifting to the opposite extreme. Here again history seems to repeat itself. Apparently Puritanism is destined by fate to pass through the same stages of moral decay as did ancient Roman society from the day of its first territorial aggrandizement, when by its aspiration to the world's domain it was brought into contact with oriental civilization. With Puritanism this process of decay commenced with the era of Independence and the emigration westward. It was quickened and laid bare by the demoralizing agencies of the Civil War and rendered virulent by the dissolving forces of industrialism.

These and the clashing of other economic interests and the conflux in Western territories of two social orders, survivals of past ages, were the latent and direct causes that brought about the final struggle over slavery. The opposition to it in the first place did not arise from moral or religious scruples. The abolitionists of the New England States did not draw their inspiration from the ethics of their people. They were moved by the powerful current of humane ideas then flowing westward from the shores of Europe. The solution of the slavery question in the United States was accelerated by the recklessness and impolitic bearing of Southern society, by the revolutionary character of the German immigration, and enforced by the mandate of an enlightened age which Puritanism outraged with Knownothingism, a movement conceived in the mosaic spirit that commanded the chosen people to slay the strangers. As late as 1838 America's Pestalozzi, Rufus Alcott, was forced to close his school in Boston, the seat of New England's philosophism and of its æsthetic sperm-oil aristocracy, because he extended the benefits of a higher education to an intelligent negro youth.

The Knownothing movement in its conception and political direction clearly proved that Puritanism was made conscious of its impotency to stem the influx of universal culture and that, in the two centuries of its seclusion, it had

almost lost the faculty of apprehending the political ethics of the Reformation. As part and parcel of the teutonic race for whose lasting elevation the Pilgrim fathers had suffered expatriation, had faced the unknown dangers of the wilderness, and had enacted one of the heroic scenes of history, their descendants should eagerly have seized the opportunity to execute that trust, theirs by political inheritance, of gathering together all the elements of that race drifting to our shores and of leading them in the now fast approaching unavoidable, and then already clearly discernible, conflict for the maintenance of religious and civic liberty.

Before we shall be fully endowed with the character of a nation Puritanism will have exhausted its vitality. Clad in mediæval armor and advancing in quixotic battle array, it will waste its power abortively in contending for the survival of prejudices and antiquated customs and for mosaic traditions and superstitions against which the spirit of the times revolts. It will vainly endeavor to retain the leadership of a society on which it impressed its stamp, but which is slipping from its grasp into the grooves of general culture and has outgrown that spirit which views the world from the belfry of the village spire.

When in 1861 the people of the United States entered into the transformation of their social organism and into the process of national assimilation and crystallization, Puritanism had already finished the task of spiritual and material toil by nature allotted to it. It had successfully undertaken the cultivation of a continent; it had defended its civilization against the aggressions of the latin race; it had its system of government engrafted on the political and social organism of the new States, and its crude moral code had fulfilled a truly humanizing mission restraining the passions and anarchistic desires of a pioneer society removed from the restraints of civilization and isolated in the vastness of the wilderness. The causes of the failure of Puritanism to become the binding element in our nationality and to shape its destiny are not to be sought for in the shortcomings of the individual or of the family but in the long period of seclusion, in climatic conditions, and in the disconsolate darkness of religious austerity under which the tree of life withered and ceased to bud and blossom.

SECTION V

Thomas Jefferson and the French Revolution. The space of time in American history from the close of the War of Independence to the adoption of the constitution of the United States may be called the era of vacillation and of doubt as to the principles on which our national government should rest and to the form in which it should be cast.

The fact has been noted that, when the American people had achieved independence, our body politic was not a democratic one, that, with the exception of the Puritan commonwealth, politics in the States were the exclusive domain of the classes. The common people had no voice in the organization of the Central Government. In fact, in the childhood of American independence it often appeared doubtful whether the American people should ever live under a republican form of government; the possibility of its organization on a democratic basis would have been thought chimerical. Undeniable it is that many of the politicians and leading minds who had been foremost in the movement against the mother-country, became alarmed at the prospect of republican rule and correspondingly reactionary the more they conceived the probability of its drift in the direction of the political emancipation of the masses. The preference for conservative and even hereditary government was not alone openly expressed by former royalists but by prominent party leaders and men of revolutionary renown whom posterity studiously has been led to worship as the very incarnation of democratic principles. Amongst the privileged classes a powerful reactionary current had set in and it appeared that the sacrifices of the common people during the long and bloody struggle were not to insure the amelioration of their economic, social, and political conditions, but to augment the powers and privileges of the patricians and that, so far as the plebeians were concerned, independence would only amount to a change of masters. The reactionary movement appeared the more threatening to the future of the American people and the more likely to succeed since the masses were, as yet, not able to comprehend the humane teachings of the *Declaration of Independence* and, therefore, were not prepared to demand their inherited rights.

Fortunately for the progress of democracy in America,

at the most opportune moment, the French revolution electrified the disinherited throughout the civilized world. "Liberty, equality, and fraternity for all mankind"—the rallying cry of the sans-culottes found an echo in the hearts of the American people. Democratic societies were organized after the model of the Jacobin clubs. Their political activity stirred up the masses and moved the middle class to demand a broader gauge of political liberties.

Though the movement was short lived, having no affinity with the Anglo-Saxon character, yet, it had imbued the people with a due apprehension of the basis upon which the government of a republic must rest. It gave strength and volume to the party of which Jefferson was the moving spirit. The vibrations of the French revolution affected American society in such a manner and to such an extent that the genius of Jefferson could engraft onto American life the thoughts and ideals of the Greek scholars of his times. He forged the weapons with which subsequent generations laid low the dragons of absolutism and slavery, his intuitions and his teachings enabled our people to discern the truth when brought home to them, that the institution of slavery was utterly and absurdly anomalous in a democratic community, and that the sale of human beings in open market was not reconcilable with the state of civilized society in the nineteenth century.

SECTION VI

Migration and Immigration. The most important factor in the unparalleled material development of the United States within a century of their independence has been the migration from the Eastern and Middle states westward and that from Europe to our shores. The Puritans took with them their strong individuality and transplanted their system of self-government and love of law and order into the organism of the so-called free States.

Another body of sturdy yeomen migrated from Pennsylvania and North Carolina westward. They also cherished religious and civic liberty and even more steadfastly were moved by the inspirations of the Reformation. When yet a dependency of the British Crown the colonies had attracted a numerous body of German Protestants who, like the Pilgrim Fathers, had suffered expatriation rather than lose their rights of mind and soul. These refugees settled

in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. More than a year before Thomas Jefferson drafted the *Declaration of Independence* their descendants adopted, in 1775, at a Convention held at Charlotte, N. C., the so-called *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence* and demanded the abolition of slavery. When the migratory movement westward commenced the Pennsylvania Dutch drifted mostly into the regions afterwards known as the Border States. There they and the Protestant Scot-Irish, descendants of the Lowland Scotch of the purest Saxon blood, continued in their opposition to slavery and upset the treacherous project of James Williamson, a second Benedict Arnold, who had been a General in the Revolutionary War and in 1786 had sold himself to the Spaniards to separate the West from the Union, which at the time of the organization of our National Government was the chief object of Spanish diplomacy on the American continent.

Until the second quarter of the last century the immigration from Europe did not reach large proportions. Then the stream began to flow in ever increasing volume. At first its main sources were Ireland and Germany. The immigration from these countries exerted, though in entirely different directions, a decisive and lasting influence on the moral, political, and economic development of the United States. While the Catholic-Celtic Irish immigration which, until 1850, was the most numerous, brought to this country willing hands to supply the manual labor necessary to advance us in prosperity, it also brought with it the superstitions of ignorance and political corruption. It brought with it an often latent virus which has withered the organism of many States. It planted deeply in our soil an acclimated Romanism, until then an exotic plant.

To the middle of the last century the German immigration was neither of such numbers nor of such a character as to exert any perceptible influence on the organism of society. For reasons already mentioned the character of the German immigration suddenly changed in 1850 and it also reached large proportions. For two generations the German people had subordinated the material to the spiritual, they had, as yet, not entered into industrialism as a national pursuit; they had not idolized the golden calf and worshiped Baal; they were frugal in habits, devoted to law and order, and deeply imbued with the responsibilities

of the family and citizenship. Thus the German immigration possessed many of the qualities and characteristics of the Puritans. The peculiarities and specialties of each appeared to supply a deficiency in the other, the one lacking the matter-of-fact view of men and things, the other the perception of their humane relations. The German immigration of revolutionary origin and the Puritans were homogeneous. Neglectful of this truth we fell into political and social errors. The German immigrants of 1848-49 made possible the organization of the Republican party; they were men of science who infused new elements into our culture; they were artisans and farmers who applied their skill and resources to the development of higher industry and the cultivation of the soil. As martyrs of liberty they were missionaries of democracy.

SECTION VII

Andrew Jackson and the Spoils System. As the exponent of the principle "to the victor belongs the spoils" Andrew Jackson rendered good service to the American people and to democracy. Rotation in office has been one of the most efficient agencies in the political advancement of the common people. It has had an important bearing on the development of parties, the diffusion of political knowledge, and the growth of popular tendencies in as much as it made all the officials dependents of public opinion and of the rule of majorities. It enlisted in the people's service the intellectual and turbulent and gave employment to their energies. It prevented the formation of a bureaucracy which under the then existing, now however changing conditions of American life, could have been but a mere farce of the bureaucracies of Europe. At the time American society was lacking all the requirements and qualities for such an institution, for instance, the educational facilities.

The moral and social influences under which the people in the North were laboring were favorable to earnestness of purpose, integrity, religious fervor and honor, in the sense of respect for the esteem and censure of the world, but not such as to develop honor in the abstract from which alone flows the *esprit de corps* absolutely necessary for an honest, able and loyal administration by a bureaucracy. Within our political framework and with the unlimited resources

of a prosperous people to draw upon, such a fixed body of officials would have attracted the worst elements in society, it would have cloyed with corruption, harbored reactionary designs and continually menaced the rights and liberties of the people. These very conditions confront us now as a result of an antiquated system of administration in a transitional stage of our national development.

SECTION VIII

The Glory of the American Democracy. The foundation rock of political liberty is the economic independence of the individual. Under a constitutional or republican form of government popular extension of citizenship without the extension of economic opportunities is a mockery and under ordinary circumstances either attaches the enfranchised to the interests of the privileged or promotes demagogism and the spread of social and political heresies and of corruption. Therefore, absolute economic independence of the masses is essential to the rule of democracy, or, at least, the presence of such economic opportunities which leaves it within the reach of every citizen to enjoy the fruits of his labor. Down to the War of the Rebellion the American people enjoyed these opportunities in a manner unparalleled in modern history because they populated the richest land on earth; from its bounteous sources American democracy drew its nourishment.

Always mindful of the extraordinary blessings which our people enjoyed and of their having been in a great measure denied to other civilized nations in their struggles for independence or for liberty we should not have been led into an exaggeration of our worth and into the fatal error that we are superior to all other peoples of the earth and superior too to all the elementary laws of economic and social development. We should have always had in mind that the study of our history, free from all suppression, evasion and sophistry, teaches that all our social and political institutions are not the fruition of American thought but of that of the philosophers and statesmen of Ancient Greece, of the Reformation, and of the many periods of revolutionary struggle in Europe for civic and religious liberty. A democracy shaping its future, must learn its own history truly and correctly; it must view it as a whole. Free peoples, to preserve their liberties and to advance in the

humane, must apply to their past and present, sternly and scrupulously, the rules of criticism with which the historian in another age will measure their shortcomings and their virtues. Otherwise the people will fall into economic errors, into political snares, and nurse social delusions. Unfortunately for ourselves and our posterity, and possibly for the cause of democracy the world over, we have of late been forgetful of the fact that it is to nature's bounty more than to any human agency that we owe the growth of American democracy. In the centuries of our seclusion from the world's culture we developed boundless self-confidence, contempt for others, and morbid pride, born of ignorance and want of knowledge of others, all of which we styled patriotism, though in truth, it is only provincialism. From it spring the artificial evils, which, in our days, have caused the decline of the American democracy and the chaotic conditions in our national existence. The awakening has been rude and, therefore, in the nature of a shock.

Yet, from the day of the *Declaration of Independence*, when a great American democracy was the vision of the few, until the War of the Rebellion, when their vision had materialized in the splendid political organization which embraced the millions of the North, the American people had in the main obeyed the precepts of the Reformation, and politically had carried it to a higher point.

Still the hardest and most imperative duty that the Northern democracy owed to itself, to posterity and mankind, was yet to be done. On the political horizon hovered as before that ominous cloud, slavery. The descendants of the "men with the honorable visage of a magistrate," the successors of Herkimer and Hale were ready to fulfill the task which from the days of Lexington and Oriskany were their trust and inheritance. When Southern imperiousness and purblindness provoked the bloody struggle in Kansas over slavery, challenging the democracy of the North and the spirit of the age, when the cowardly blow struck in the Senate chamber laid low the organizer of the political resistance to slavery, Sumner, and challenged the learned and the cultured, and when John Brown's fierce, avenging spirit aroused the Yeomanry of the North, slavery was doomed.

PART III
THE FOUNDATION OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE
CHAPTER I

THE WAR OF THE REBELLION AND ITS EFFECT ON
AMERICAN SOCIETY

SECTION I

The Dismal Shadow of Democracy. When an empire is founded with separate parts and diverse elements, a gradual work of assimilation must precede the final joining together and the work of fusion. It is in this that we find the secret of German unification and of the apparently sudden foundation of the German empire. During half a century all the intellectual and moral forces of the German people were concentrated in the work of social assimilation, while the economies were apparently entirely neglected. There the learned estate directed the work; it threw into a crucible of intellectual and moral transformation all the provinces and all the elements that constitute the German unity of the present day. When the fusion was complete, the nation's economic expansion was attempted but again under the direction of the intellectual forces of the nation and, consequently, in an orderly and well regulated manner carefully guarding, so far as possible in the era of Capitalism, against the evils thereof.

Unfortunately, our period of transformation commenced with a civil war of unparalleled extent, and, at a time, when the intellectual and moral forces of the people had made only a slight advance beyond the closely drawn lines of theocracy and provincialism, aye, were only beginning to burst these confines. Consequently, our process of unification was the reverse of that of Germany. With us the work of assimilation was of an exclusively material character. Therefore, the work of political fusion has not produced a corresponding fusion of crystallization in ethics and our

amalgam is lacking in intellectuality and morality. Our process of nationalization took place under the direction of the middle class and not of the learned estate and, consequently, had to show all the intellectual and moral shortcomings with which the class is beset, and the patchwork character in which its selfishness delights. We have achieved national unity and greatness only at the expense of our moral health and through the reckless expenditure and waste of our inheritance, of the resources of the country. Like an overgrown youth we have the seeds of dissolution in our system. We have entered into fellowship with elements and spirits that are not easy to banish. Our economic, social and political organism of to-day is almost a grotesque caricature of the splendid democracy of 1861. We point to the treatment of the Negroes, the pro-Roman Spanish-American War and the subservience of the McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft administrations to Jesuitism and Capitalism.

With the close of the War of the Rebellion the American people entered into a period of unparalleled agricultural and industrial development. Within two generations our population has multiplied in a manner until then unknown in history; the wealth of the country has increased in an enormous degree; immense territories have been cultivated; in higher industries advances have been made with astounding strides, resulting in complete industrial independence. It may truthfully be said that in material progress the United States during the last half of a century has become the greatest country on earth, so far as national greatness consists in the energy and number of citizens, in the extent and resources of territory, in agriculture and industry. These are facts demonstrated by figures and by tables.

But national greatness and the stability of democracies are mainly dependent on the moral and intellectual progress of the people. Of course, the questions arise: have the American people made equal advance in intelligence, in political wisdom, and in all their social relations; have they carefully preserved the morality and purity which alone made possible the great democracy of the *ante-bellum* days; have the American people during this wonderful period of material splendor insisted that humanity constitutes a part, by far the most important part of political economy, and that the moral life of a people and of man are of greater concern than the longest column of figures in a national

show of material progress; have the American people considered that the social life of a community is always the foundation of its political life; have they included human nature as a factor in the solution of political problems; were they conscious of the fact that otherwise all deductions are fallacious; has the nation's soul always responded to the demands of humanity; has it been moved solely by the ethics of the race of which it is a part; have the American people always had in view the practical application of Christianity to life as the secret of an orderly, beneficent and lasting condition of society; have we preserved the moral equilibrium of society during the process of converting the heterogeneous elements of our population into a homogeneous citizenship and this in spite of the jarrings, inseparable from a contemporaneous change in our economic conditions, a change which while satisfying some, of necessity offended others?

The touchstone of all economic and social advances of a nation, of the permanence of its political and social institutions is the moral standard governing public life. Until lately, whether through carelessness or trust in Providence, whose blessings we enjoyed in full and almost thoughtlessly, we have failed in our duty to examine into the moral condition of our body politic and to render an account of our stewardship for the benefit and instruction of coming generations. Unfortunately, like the ostrich, we buried our faces and with fatalism trusted in good fortune to make good our shortcomings in citizenship, to correct our political errors, and to find a remedy for the evils eating into our political organism, evils which spring from want of thought and are the bane of our life, knownothingism and boundless self-confidence. These blinded us to the truth and obscured to our understanding the symptoms of the virulent disease which had seized our body politic and which we mistook for a silent ailment easily yielding to the cure-alls recommended by political quacks or to the mysterious and sympathetic influences with which our imagination invested party politics. *The poison threatening our national life is moral and political corruption, the dismal shadow of democracies, and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the sequence of cause and effect of Parliamentarism, Industrial Feudalism, Capitalism and Romanism, of unchecked representative government and of unchecked competition and legal*

spoliation. If we apply in proper time the remedies found only in the virtues of our race and in the ethics of the Reformation, we may successfully beat back the effects of the poison and establish a new order of society in which even the germs of the disease shall find no lodgment. Otherwise we shall drift into Romanism or Anarchism, and the light of democracy on the American continent will be forever extinguished.

SECTION II

The Conduct of the War. Properly to understand the present condition of society in the United States, it is indispensable to study the transitional period in the nation's history which commenced with the organization of the Republican party and closed with its defeat in 1912. It is also essential to turn back our thoughts upon the immense sacrifices in blood and treasure which the Civil War demanded. We must keep in mind that hundreds of thousands of the flower of the people were for years withdrawn from home influences and from their ordinary avocations, and that tens of thousands of these had no issue. We must reflect upon the terrible phases of the war, its savageness, its bloodshedding, its general demoralizing tendencies and that tens of thousands, the most noble of soul, the bravest of heart died on the battlefields or in hospitals. "Blood is a peculiar juice," says Doctor Faust in Goethe's sublime tragedy. Blood is the life of the individual and of nations. Its partial loss weakens the human system. Nations and individuals are affected in like manner. Every war of long duration lowers the moral energies of the organism of society and its vitality. The affections and passions turn to evil and the nation's heart and constitution become morbid. Such a blood-letting as the American nation suffered during the Civil War will affect generations, in their intellectual, moral and physical development.

During a crisis for the fate of a nation, like the one we passed through in the Civil War, the enthusiasts, the spirited, and the patriots respond to the call for the defense of hearth and home. The aged, the physically weak, the indolent, the philistines and the cowards and traitors stay at home. While the patriots defended the Union and battled in the cause of democracy the shrewd and avaricious seized the opportunities for riches and crowded all avenues

to preferment. In a democracy, in no way prepared for such an emergency, the inevitable consequences of a sudden and violent disturbance of the equilibrium of society and of the economic relations of its component parts are partial and temporary dissolution of society, a general shifting of functions, and socially, a new division of the people and a gradual readjustment of the several parts. In this process of reorganization, for reasons already mentioned, cunning and treason had the advantage of patriotism and cowardice and avarice of valor. Whenever such a disturbance takes place during a transitional period in the life of a nation, at a time when it is passing from the impetuous vigor, the aspirations, and indiscretions of youth into manhood, and, in economics, is changing from exclusively agricultural pursuits into industrialism, the effects must be the more marked, and their vibrations affect the foundations of society. This happened in our case. We entered into collective industry suddenly, therefore, unprepared and under an excessive pressure, acting irregularly and unevenly, on the various parts of the body politic. While the patriots saved the framework of the Union, the sudden upheaval in economics displaced social equality in the North, the foundation, and thereby assailed democracy and made illusory the eternal truths expressed in the *Declaration of Independence*.

The progress of a century in morals and politics, in fact, the very essentials of a democratic government were made nugatory through the change in economics in which the patriotic and progressive part of the people could take no part and could not secure to society the full benefits accruing from such a change or guard against its dangers. When the Union armies were disbanded, the new economic process and its attending social evils had advanced to an extent which carried them beyond the reach of ordinary political action. Moreover, the returning soldiers were often socially divorced from their respective communities and, as a body, totally removed from the sphere of their former lives. They had set out for the front from the quiet of rural homes and provincial towns to return into the whirlpool of industrialism and into social environments which within a few years had outgrown provincialism and had more or less conformed to the general culture of the world.

At the outbreak of the war our parliamentarians and

martinets, entirely oblivious of the world's progress and of the passions by previous agitation engendered, and failing to perceive the revolutionary character of the impending conflict, prepared only for a "campaign of ninety days." They believed that the war would be of short duration. Thus erring, they made no preparations for a protracted and bloody struggle by the incessant education and discipline of the material available for armies. The "Ninety Days" policy cost the American people seas of blood and mountains of treasure. The financial, economic and political errors of our Congressional Solons, and the military blunders of our little Napoleons led almost to the destruction of the soul and sinew of the nation.

Acting under a delusion as to the duration of the war, the government relied for its conduct and successful issue on volunteers instead of on levies. In the first stages of the war it exhausted the patriotic stock of the nation, and, when levies were ordered, it permitted the prostitution of patriotism. It granted to the cunning, to the rich, the cowards and traitors, the privilege of furnishing substitutes who were drawn from the slums of cities and the dirt-hovels the world over. Thus, the representatives of a democratic people offered a premium to disloyalty and smothered the patriotic fervor of entire communities. The government of a democracy set up the dollar as an idol and decreed the division of the people into the rich and exempt from the most holy of patriotic duties, and into the poor and gladiators. Consequently, when the war was over, society was burdened with tens of thousands of mercenaries of all nationalities altogether unfitted for the duties and enjoyment of citizenship; other tens of thousands of the poor returned, in their hearts the sting of reproach which poverty and the sneers of disloyalty beget.

Though in the South the social and political conditions were different, and the masses could not lose the spirit of democracy because they never possessed it, yet, even there, the war left its demoralizing traces behind. Death's plentiful harvest in the ranks of the chivalry of the South nearly destroyed in their progeny the inborn qualities of culture and honor which were the redeeming features of the Southern planter aristocracy and which made their rule less oppressive and less destructive to the moral and material welfare of the North than that of their descendants

has proved to be, in the short time, since the South again predominates in Washington.

SECTION III

Lack of Genius and Statecraft. When with the growth in territory, wealth and population, the United States had reached an epoch in history in which they were to emerge from their exclusive position in civilization and endeavor to take their proper place among the great nations and civilizing factors of the earth, the transition from home to collective industry and from a loosely jointed political body into a homogeneous whole, into a nation, became a necessity.

In the age of rapid communication a people of thirty millions were forced to merge into their social organism all the elements which in their totality represent the culture of the age. The recognition of this truth led to the organization of the Republican party and to an elementary change in our economic and social institutions. Though outwardly they appear to be unchanged, yet, in their essential parts in spirit and application they are to-day different. The abolition of slavery was only a part of the process of reorganization which altered the general character and mode of life of the American people. The Civil War accelerated this process and impressed on it an abnormal and singular condition. In a certain sense our growth into one of the great industrial and political nations was a hot-house growth. As a political body we were wanting in many educational conditions which should have preceded such a rapid and exceptionally forceful expansion of social energies. Therefore, the political frame within which these forces had to work themselves out became unduly strained and the order and balance of society greatly deranged. Thus we find ourselves at the close of the transitional period, financially, socially and politically, in a chaotic condition.

Living almost in seclusion, away from the cultural life of Europe, and being exempt from all collisions with advanced or powerful neighbors, and in the full enjoyment of apparently inexhaustible natural resources, the intellectual development of the American people had been of uniform rate and character, which, of course, was not conducive to the growth of genius. It is true that the parliamentary struggle over the extension of slavery had produced great intellects

and orators, but their efforts were made in a cause in which the one side appealed to the sympathies, but rarely to the intellect of a plain, liberty-loving, agricultural population, and the other side defended an institution already condemned by the spirit of the times. Renown is easily achieved in a secluded community wherein culture is of a moderate degree and uniform and the sympathies of the masses are aroused. Moreover, before the war, our prominent men were either self-taught or, with very few exceptions, graduates of colleges, which then lacked nearly all the requisites of universities. Our politicians could not acquire the breadth and depth of education which makes disciplined minds and the love of study and research profitable; they were often men of high ideals but without the familiarity with history that is the foundation of all true statesmanship. Each category was mostly composed of lawyers whose minds are usually cramped by the inanimateness of their studies and practice which ordinarily destroy the creative power of imagination.

Under such circumstances the generation conducting the war did not produce any statesmen-genius able to comprehend the greatness of the task and to foresee all the evil consequences which inevitably follow civil war and to propose measures suitable to direct the energies of the people into proper channels. That the period mentioned produced men of great talents and patriotism is true, men of the compass of mind of Stanton, Sumner, Wilson, and Stevens. They were not of the caliber of Richelieu, of Cromwell, or of Bismarck. The politician of the North was the child of parliamentarism, his genius that of the passions and prejudices of parties and factions and his forum the village meeting house. He was the product of an agricultural and provincial population living under a system of equitable division of property enforcing an intellectual level which he dare not surmount for fear of losing his foothold in public life. Under existing social conditions with universal suffrage, our political life has been an endless chain of expedients to appease the clamor and fancies of the masses. Thus public life fostered boundless self-confidence and ignorance, which is always so prone to lead to stubbornness. It fostered utter disregard of the experience of mankind that, in the moral and rational order, everything which is done by force and improvisation is shortlived, and that long initiation, organic development and growth from within, form

the essentials of all political measures of permanence and of lasting benefit to the people.

The history of the Civil War whenever truly written, while telling on every page of heroic deeds and able generalship, will show that the greatest military drama was devoid of military genius. Lafayette said of the War of Independence: "The greatest of causes won by contests of sentinels and outposts." Of the War of the Rebellion it may be said: "Democracy triumphed by the rushes of its masses and the endurance, intelligence and heroism of the individual soldier." This singular condition in the greatest war of history, the fancies of the politicians and their corruption, the greediness of our shylocks, and the clamor of the masses unduly prolonged the war. For these reasons the end was reached not through the application of the highest principles of war, but through a most unscientific policy of mutual slaughter, a policy based on the cruel calculation that the North would be able to submit to the bloodletting process for a longer period than the South. This barbarous policy led to a wanton destruction of life, to the demoralization of the victor and to the total exhaustion of the vanquished. Democracy possibly profited by it. The policy of mutual slaughter to the last ditch insured the defeat of the planter aristocracy, and the Catonian character of Stanton saved the North from military despotism.

It was unfortunate that the underlying principle of the Civil War was not sooner understood in the South—the question is whether it is now properly recognized. It was not merely the question of maintenance of the Union or of slavery but the conflux of two civilizations, of a young and growing social system against an old and dying one, of modern light against the dark ages, a bloody demonstration of the principles of the *Declaration of Independence* and of aristocracy. It was a war of Roundhead against Cavalier. At Appomattox there met, not two men but two civilizations in the gallant figure of the graybearded Knight, the picture of a soldier and a nobleman, and the short, unimpressive figure of the tanner with the strong plebeian face and the slouchy dress, vanquished and victor, Lee and Grant.

The glory of the war belongs to the common soldier of the North and South. Unfortunately the latter did not at all

or too late discern the fact that he jeopardized life and liberty in a war for the rich and against true democracy.

SECTION IV

Abraham Lincoln. The achievements of the war are the glory of the Northern democracy and of one who, in ages to come, will be known as one of the wisest, the most patriotic and the most humane of men.

Abraham Lincoln, though not of imperial genius, became the savior of his country. His practical wisdom, his sense of duty, his humanity, his unselfishness, and plebeian origin, his knowledge of human nature, of politics and of his people, the simplicity, purity, and pathos of his character and the incomparable kindness of heart, qualities of mind and soul, which under the circumstances surrounding the greatest of revolutions and wars more than compensated for the lack of genius and covered the people with a mysterious influence inspiring patriotism and overawing passion and treason. From his heart flowed through the hearts of the people that magnetic power which arouses all the affections of mind and soul and which in humanity is the creative force. It is a phenomenon of history that the more far reaching the aims of any cause or the more it appeals to the emotions, the more do nations embody it in an individual. Thus Lincoln's personality inflamed the patriotism of the masses higher and higher, the more the cause of the North expanded into a struggle for humanity's sake.

The Jesuitical conspiracy which selected the greatest of Americans for its victim was a crime against the victor and the vanquished, a crime against coming generations, a crime against humanity. On the eve of the reconstruction of American society Lincoln's death was an irreparable loss to the American people, North and South. It was a crime conceived in the synagogue of the devil. The genius of the American people was made the victim of a conspiracy at a time when he might have counseled such a reconstruction of society as to secure it forever from the very dangers which now begin seriously to menace it.

The events during the riots in New York and Boston in 1863 and their specifically Irish-Romish character had left a deep and lasting impression on Lincoln's mind. His acute and penetrating vision had disclosed to him their

origin and their drift. To a confidant he often expressed himself on this point in clear and forcible language. To charge the planter aristocracy with any connection with the crime of the age is ridiculous and demagogical.

As to the arch-conspirators—the time of its commission at the close of the war, all attending circumstances, the personality of the assassins, and particularly the affiliations of the female plotter point in an entirely different direction.

When during the Kulturkampf the life of Bismarck was attempted he expressed himself sarcastically and metaphorically that the assassin had been hanging on the coat tails of the clerical party. Certainly it cannot be said that the assassins of Lincoln were hanging on the coat tails of the planter aristocracy. Should the greatest crime against humanity committed since the crucifixion ever be laid bare in all its ramifications, it would, undoubtedly, appear that Lincoln's assassins were hanging onto the garments of a more flowing style than those worn by the Southern aristocracy, to garments, in cut and fabric, altogether foreign to the American taste.

It was not until this world's tragedy had convulsed society in every civilized country that a comprehension of the truth came over some of those who had been so scornful of the rail-splitter and his Government of "Mudsills." It was then that Tom Taylor looked back at that long list of taunts against Lincoln for

His gaunt, gnarl'd hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please,

and confessed:

Yes; he had liv'd to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil and confute my pen;
To make me own this hind of Princes' peer,
This rail-splitter a trueborn king of men.

It was an apology not to Lincoln alone but to the North, the North and its civilization embodied in him.

SECTION V

The Reconstruction Policy, the Negro Question, and the South. The sublime in Lincoln's character bridled all political passions, his death released them and was the signal for a carnival of political corruption, crass ignorance and demagogy, and bacchanalian madness on the part of the mammon worshipers. It set American society adrift on tumultuous seas to be swept on to destruction either by the treacherous undercurrent of Popery or by the breakers of popular unrest. Nearly a century intervened between Washington and Buchanan, the one the prudent, strong-willed, dignified and patriotic, though of course undemocratic, representative of the classes, the other the tool of the slavocracy, the master of indecision and the model of stubborn irresolution and cowardly treachery. Within two generations of Lincoln's martyrdom, Roosevelt, the ideal representative of the most selfish, arrogant, and insipid bourgeoisie of the world, has been worshiped as a demigod, as the savior of the money traders, and as the patron saint of the Romish Klu-Klux factions which had masqueraded corruption, ignorance, despotic and theocratic designs under the cover of the Republican and Democratic parties and now attempt to hoodwink the people with the Progressive party that is neither milk nor water.

The reconstruction period which followed the close of the war made the lack of statesmen painfully apparent. Our politicians were unable to agree on a fixed policy applying the lessons of history and conforming to the changes in the nation's economic and social life or preparing for the exigencies of the future. All political questions of whatever nature were solved from the standpoint of the partisan and, of course, in an irrational manner.

Five millions of slaves had been freed. The reconstruction policy as embodied in constitutional amendments granted to the former slave full citizenship. But it also decreed that he should remain a pariah and peon of his former master. It is true that emancipation converted the negroes into free laborers, earning wages, and in theory with power to work for whom and where they pleased. But reconstruction left to the planter aristocracy the land the only source from which the freed could draw suste-

nance, because the conditions of their race at that time excluded them from the labor market of the world. We gave to the negro liberty, yet placed the fruit of liberty, economic independence, outside of his reach.

We granted to the emancipated negro, who at the time was the white man's equal only in certain inalienable rights, but otherwise altogether unfitted for the duties of citizenship, sovereign rights, and thus prepared the conditions for the political corruption in the South, whence it has entered into every department of the national government and almost into that of every hamlet in the country. Further, it became but a question of time when the old slavocracy should again exert a powerful political influence based on the indirect ownership of the negro, yea, an even larger influence than before, because under the new arrangement five votes were to be counted in favor of sectionalism and class rule where in the days of slavery only three were allowed. Whenever the people of the North should come to entertain the delusion that Southern society had become profoundly different from what it was before the war, had become permeated with the qualities of democracy, the control of the negro vote was bound to be shifted from the adventurers and carpet-baggers to the owners of the soil.

Having regained in a higher degree the political power represented by the negro vote, Southern society, acting as a political unit, had to regain its ascendancy in national politics, in as much as its former auxiliary party, the democratic party in the North had unfortunately for the welfare of the country, preserved its organization and in it the tradition of subserviency to the chivalry of the South. Without brain or principle, and, therefore, bound to serve in bondage, the democratic party in the North had in the interregnum also submitted to a new task master, the Roman-Irish hierarchy. The Southern politicians found it an easy matter to arrange with Jesuitism, a power striving for the same reactionary ends and with which, in the halcyon days of slavery, they always had held relations—each party having resource to the *reservatio mentalis* in cheating the other whenever the purpose set out for should be accomplished.

At present the political status of the planter aristocracy in the organism of the United States is one of transition and

their future party affiliations will depend on the influence of Industrial Feudalism and Capitalism on the reorganization of parties in the North. The new South will lose the traditions of old with its progress in industrialism. Whenever this progress shall have reached a certain stage, the ruling class of the South will again assume the full and permanent mastery of the people of the United States; because of race prejudices the Southern aristocracy will continue politically to control the ignorant poor whites and therefore, the South will continue to act as a unit and as an industrial power will command the cheapest labor in the country. It will ally itself with Capitalism and supply it with the means to subjugate the masses in the North.

The low order of intellect of the Southern poor whites and the helplessness of the negro will insure to the ruling class in the South a class of labor economically and politically dependent. Because of the race prejudice which is skillfully and continually nourished in the interest of the ruling class, it is doubtful whether the Southern farmer will ever lastingly throw off the yoke of the landed estate and join his social and political fortunes with the democracy of the North.

The time may come when the Northern democracy, to defend its liberties or rather, to regain them, will again war against the South. The ignorant and shiftless negro and the equally ignorant and worthless poor white of the South are the proper material for the pretorian bands of Capitalism. In the negro regiments of the regular army the non-commissioned officers of a negro army are qualified for war and filled with the ardor of militarism.

It is in the nature of our people that their political resolutions and actions are taken in fits and starts. This national peculiarity gave the cranks of liberty the opportunity to solve the negro question in a perverse manner. Thus the North forged the fetters with which the vanquished were to enslave the victor and to imperil the progress of democracy. We saved the negro from the lash and left him to the mercy of the shot-gun. We conquered the foes of liberty and left to them the resources of war. We elevated the negro to citizenship and left him the choice between starvation and serfdom. We emancipated the negro slaves and submitted to the enslavement of the white labor of the North by Capitalism and demagogism. We de-

stroyed the confederacy and surrendered the government of the Union to the very class which made the former possible. We wrought folly in Israel when we sacrificed the achievements of the war and of the generations preceding it. *The people of the North failed to profit from the study of history and, therefore, failed to dispossess the defeated Southern aristocracy from all political power—they were left in the possession of the land.* The chapter of American history which tells of the reconstruction policy and its results is discreditable to the Republican party and intensely humiliating to the veterans of the war and to the great democracy of the North.

SECTION VI

The Negro Question. No Nation is safe wherein a number of people are not within the pale of justice, or suffer, or enjoy, as a marked class an exceptional position in the body politic. In a democracy all must enjoy equal justice and equal rights, or, sooner or later, the masses generally will be reduced politically and in economics to the level of the exceptional body.

To safeguard the Republic and our democratic masses in the North, the Negro question in the South must be solved as early and thoroughly as possible, and not in the spirit of prejudice and race-hatred, but in justice and equity. The Nation gave its life-blood freely and treasures immense for the emancipation of the Negro slaves who were not immigrants, but captives on whose labor the aristocracy of the South was reared as a political menace to the democracy of the North. After the close of the Civil War it appeared to the student of culture-history unwise to grant to the ignorant and helpless Negro masses of the South the right to vote. They were not fitted for the privilege. It was also a mistaken policy to restore that privilege to the ignorant and low-bred whites of the South and to leave the large estates intact and in the possession of the Southern aristocracy.

Owning the soil, under then existing conditions in the South, it was inevitable that the former slave-holders should again acquire supreme political control, the more so as they commanded an ignorant lazy mass of whites who were rather below than above the moral level of the ex-slaves. A chaotic social inequality before the courts was

created in defiance of the Constitution. Moreover, the power of the Southern aristocracy was augmented by giving them additional representation through the reactionary-rebellious acts of disfranchising the Negroes. To the sociologist it is an alarming condition. The careful observer cannot fail to notice certain signs on the political horizon which can only mean that the Southern landed aristocracy is again striving for the mastery of the Nation, supported by the vast aggregations of capital in the North and by other reactionary agencies. It appears to be but a question of time when economic changes will unite the moneyed powers of the North, the landed aristocracy of the South and the Roman hierarchy for the gradual disintegration of the American democracy.

It is impossible to deport twelve millions of a race regularly domiciled and, by virtue of their bravery in the Civil War, as part of the Army of the Republic, entitled to all the blessings of American citizenship. Furthermore, the presence of the Negro in the South is absolutely necessary for its agricultural and industrial development.

How then can the Negro question be solved gradually, rationally and to the common good?

We are of the opinion that the salvation of the Negro is to be left to himself under the tuition and guidance of an intellectual Negro class who, in youth, should enjoy co-education in Northern universities where only they can be fitted for the leadership of their race. During their intellectual and moral development they must be in constant contact with their white fellows to absorb into their character whatever superiority there may be in the whites. The Southern Negro must be made to feel his own responsibility in the establishment of the civil, social and moral standard of the community in which he lives.

He must feel that he is, really, a part of it and not merely an intruder to be hated and despised or patronized and considered an irresponsible being. He needs the sympathy of the Northern people and the leadership of an intellectual class who by contact with the best white men have disciplined mind and soul and mastered the science of good government. We must regard the black man as a member of the human family and a contributing factor to civilization. It had its beginning in elementary grades. Lucius Annæus Seneca in telling us how things do grow, says:

“The temples are builded upon their foundations, as also these great walls of Rome are, and yet that which was first laid to sustain this whole work lies hidden under earth. The like falleth out in all other things. The greatest that they attain unto in time doth always obscure their beginnings.” That on which the foundation of Negro civilization in the South will be reared is yet hidden in the soul of the Negro. It must be evolved and prepared by an intellectual class, this part of the race to bear the great weight of modern civilization.

If we permit the Southern aristocracy to reduce the millions of Negroes to peonship and to keep the poor whites in ignorance and poverty, to establish a State within the Union foreign to it in all that makes a democracy possible, we call into being a destructive force that will master the people of the North. From its very nature it must be an aggressive force. In a few years we will have returned to a state of society in the South like that which made the Civil War a necessity. Will we then be in a condition to meet successfully the reactionary forces of the South? In a generation or two the re-enslaved Negro will again be reduced to utter helplessness and to an almost animal existence. The status of the poor white will not be changed. They are and will be chattel. In the opinion of the writer the Confederacy failed of success in the War of the Rebellion for the reason that the Southern statesmen through cowardice and prejudice did not arm the Negro, and this immediately upon the outbreak of the war. Because of his total ignorance and the resultant absence of moral judgment the slave would have willingly fought for his master. Proof thereof is that during the war not a single rebellion of the slaves was recorded even in sections of the South left without any protection by white males. Even as late as 1864 the writer met Negroes working in the fields of Georgia and Louisiana, who, at the approach of the Union soldiers, ran away in terrible fright. In no distant future, as a result of the economic shortcoming and social vices of Industrialism and Commercialism, the Northern people will not be in a moral and physical condition to meet the compact ignorant masses of the South, white and black, directed by a selfish but highly intelligent aristocracy.

To protect the Northern democracy and to insure its cultural progression it is absolutely necessary to change

without delay political conditions in the South. Whether under the Constitution franchise in State and local elections can be restored to the Negro by an appeal to the courts is problematical. It is also more than questionable, whether with the Negro in his present uncultured state this would be for the real good of the masses. But with respect to national elections the disfranchisement of the Negro is an important matter to the Northern masses. In fact, it is a vital matter from the point of justice and equal representation, and for the very continuance of democratic institutions. One of the causes of the Civil War was the unequal representation of the North and South in Congress, especially in the House of Representatives. There is at present only one way to remove such injustice and reduction of the Northern citizen's sovereignty. It is the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment in the National elections and their supervision by national officers, supported, if necessary, by the army of the United States as a *posse comitatus*.

There is no more pressing duty of the National government than the education of the Negroes and poor whites of the South in schools fully up to the standard of the North. The Southern aristocracy will never consent to an effective public school system. This is to be expected. From their standpoint they are right. Why should they tax themselves to undermine and eventually to destroy their power to protect and advance their material interests. But the democracy is deeply interested in the reduction of the Southern aristocracy that they may not coöperate with the reactionary forces of the North and at a decisive point of the struggle march their battalions to the North. It is about time that the Tillmans and Vardamans were made to know that the patience of Northern intelligence and democracy is almost exhausted.

History teaches that every progress of the human race was made under the leadership of an intellectual class, whether in the garb of holy calling or in the toga of the philosopher. It will be so with the American Negro. The training of a few in manual labor will not help him. The great intellectual advances made by the Negro within the short space of forty-odd years guarantee the creation of such a class. His political emancipation must be of inner growth and left to him, to his moral self and the wisdom

and moderation of his leaders and to the rapidly approaching social and economic changes the world over.

It is a lamentable fact that since emancipation almost half a century has passed into time without any effort on the part of our National government to ascertain in a scientific manner the true relation of the two races in regard to physical and intellectual differences, if there are any. We have left this all-important matter, one of the most difficult to the anthropologist, to prejudiced traditions and to the twaddle of politicians, to brutishness, egotism and greed, or to the hysterically inclined. A well qualified and unprejudiced commission should for years carefully and conscientiously study the subject, and their report should determine whether the Negro question shall be solved gradually by amalgamation, or, as the student must now believe, by the elevation of the unmixed race to the average standard of every day civilization. If the referee in this matter, after forty years of study of this social question is correct in the premises, the Negro does not desire amalgamation, and whatever there is of it has come not by his choice but by the action of the ancestors of the men of the South who now openly or in secret enjoy the lynching bee.

CHAPTER II

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

SECTION I

Financial and Economic Heresies, and the National Bank System. At the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion we were in the rueful throes of a financial crisis, the result of an irrational economic policy dictated by the planter-aristocracy of the South.

Too long the American people had been satisfied to till the soil and to barter their harvest for the industrial products of Europe. Like every other agricultural nation which, since the era of collective industry set in, adhered to this policy, we were made the victim of spoliation by the industrial peoples. We possessed the richest country on earth and yet were wanting in national wealth. As a young braggart nation boasting of our inexhaustible resources and of our smartness, we suffered effete Europe to despoil us of our precious metals, to exploit our labor, and to burden our future with usurious practices. In possession of the richest gold and silver mines, we suffered from scarcity of money, and dubious promises of wildcat banks were our circulating medium of exchange. Suddenly the conduct of the war commanded the raising of large sums of money. Here again the theory of the "Ninety-days' War" failed us. At the outset, we did not prepare financially for a protracted struggle. We appealed to the patriotism of the people and exhausted right at the start the immediately available resources of the country with which we should have supplied the needs of every day life. When these funds were exhausted, we set the printing presses in motion and appealed to the capitalists of Europe, pledging the resources of the country and imposing on generations the task of redemption at usurious interest.

We compelled generations to toil for the aggrandizement of International Capitalism, and mortgaged to it the future of the nation. Though our politicians evolved a mere hand

to mouth financial policy, we yet lauded their wisdom. We exalted their patriotism when they created the National Bank system, the most gigantic scheme of robbery ever attempted, the greatest of all the infamies to which the American people meekly submitted. We called on the "Uncles" of the world and said: "Here, we pledge all the resources of the richest country on earth and the energies of an honest and progressive people and of their descendants; loan us your money. We will pay you the interest you demand and a large bonus for accommodation and the risks of war, and we will return to you ninety per cent. of the face value of the loan in the shape of paper money, which you can lend to our manufacturers and farmers at your pleasure and at your price and with which you can speculate and corner the necessities of life and create fictitious values to rob labor of its fruit. We surrender to you part of our sovereignty, the right to issue money, that you may enslave trade and industry and husbandry by indirect taxation and the jugglery of the contraction and expansion of the currency." We despised Bourbon and Papal rule in Naples and Rome because it tolerated and blessed bands of bandits for reactionary purposes; we legalized the most gigantic scheme of robbery and lauded as patriots the associations of shylocks who have since the war defrauded and robbed the American people. We borrowed thousands of millions at ruinous rates and paid our patriotic bankers for superfluous services in placing these loans. We paid and are paying to the shylocks of the world interest upon money which could and is to be had without interest; a policy which had to produce a contraction of the currency exceedingly distressing to debtors and, thereby, multi-millionaires. Is it possible to make to this a conclusive reply?

Whenever the people rebelled against the exactions of the moneyed power and the infamous financial system with which they had been saddled, the priests of mammon, the politicians, and the publishers of a subsidized press made hypoeritical professions of patriotism, of national honor pledged and to be redeemed, of constitutional limitations and guarantees, and of horror at the contemplation of paternal measures by the government. Or they set up new political idols for the people to worship or to quarrel about. They inflamed popular passion and tickled national vanity,

and appealed to jingoism. The silver question, the force bill, the labor troubles, and the bugbear of foreign invasion were such idols set up by the Baal-priests in the temple of mammon. Thus too, Greenbackism, Teetotalism, Woman Suffrage, and the single tax fancy were skillfully diverted and applied to hypnotize the people so susceptible to fads, whenever during a lucid interval they threatened to demand and enforce a change. Meanwhile the international conspiracy was organized which practically forced the United States, before they were in proper condition, into monometalism and to issue more bonds to continue the National Bank system.

Excessive taxation, irrational tariff legislation, the contraction of the currency by hoarding immense sums of money in the National treasury and then spending them prodigally and corruptly, and the silver legislation were the means to this end. It was rather an easy task. General prosperity was the rule. Trade and industry flourished. We had to replace the losses of the war; we cultivated the richest virgin soil and raised the treasures hidden in the bowels of the earth; thanks to the protective policy we expanded our industries and supplied a rapidly growing population. Millions of emigrants brought to our shore willing hands and millions in coin. Thus we were enabled to maintain our balance with Europe and to build up an interstate commerce of unheard-of proportions. Not once did we propound the questions: How long is this prosperity to last? Do we exhaust the resources of the country; do we squander the inheritance of coming generations for the benefit of International Capitalism? We continued to live prodigally, to expand our credit and to pay to the Shylocks of the world usurious interest. More than once we were reminded of our folly. The crisis of 1873, of 1881, of 1893 and of 1907 did not cure us of financial, economic and political heresies or of our national maladies, morbid pride and contempt of others. We saw not the handwriting on the wall. We continued in the delusion that we were exempt from the laws of finance and economy which control the national life of the rest of the civilized world and kept it from drifting into the whirlpool of Capitalism and Monopolism.

We failed to observe the sociological phenomena which indicate the disintegration of society and which, to the

careful observer, were and are plainly discernible on our political horizon. It never occurred to us that our immunity from many of the social maladies with which other nations were, and are, afflicted was due, not to advantages of climate and isolation, or to superiority in intellect, in morals, or in physical strength, but solely to our unique position commanding such natural resources which made possible the rational nourishment of the body politic and which, without immediately exciting disorders, permitted a reckless waste of healthy tissue. We paid no attention to a beneficial law of nature regarding the progress of the human race that every controversy relating to its welfare or woe must go forward to its settlement and that every change in the social life of nations must be carried to its logical conclusion. In the life of nations there are no half-way stations, no places of rest, it is either steady progress towards the goal of happiness or retrogression, decay and death.

SECTION II

National Control of Mines and Farm Staples. Of all the nations of the earth the American people appeared to be the most favored by Providence, truly the chosen people of the Lord.

Shortly before we were to enter into maturity, into the circle of the industrial nations and into a political transformation, nature had provided the means which should have enabled us to pass unscathed through all of these economic and social evolutions, to escape most of the evils usually flowing in the wake of revolutions, and to develop a social order superior to that of any civilized people. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the United States occupied a unique place in the economic order of the world. All the conditions existed that should have secured to them this position.

We were the largest producers of the great farm staples. All over the world their price responded to our harvests and to the acreage which we were adding to the productive area. We were then only touching the outer belt of the great wheat and corn producing territory which under careful husbandry would have secured to generations the control of the markets of the world. Of cotton we had a virtual monopoly. As to all other products of the soil and

of animal life, and in minerals, necessary to the development of higher industries, we were independent of the world, and our exporting power was equal to the demands of western Europe and increasing in a higher rate than the increase in European consumption.

On the eve of the economic and political revolution which relieved us from the incubi of free trade and slavery, the gold discoveries in California were made. They were of such a character as to exert a decisive influence on the money markets of the world. Considering our unique and advantageous position in the commerce of the world, the discovery of precious metals in such quantities ought to have changed our financial position from one of dependency to that of absolute independence. The treasures of the Pacific coast, properly applied, should have enabled us to scorn the moneyed power of the world and to lay it prostrate at our feet. These treasures should have secured to us, directly and indirectly, and cheaply, the means for the conduct of the war and the capital required to establish higher industries. They should have attracted to this country, though it was then passing through economic and social upheavals of unparalleled force and extent, the hoarded capital of Europe on conditions of our own prescription. Profiting from the experience of Europe, our financial and economic policy should have been: the acquisition by the national government of all gold and silver mines and the regulation of the output; the regulation of the acreage to be put under cultivation by a proper system of restriction in the opening of territories to settlement.

Such a policy would long ago have removed the center of finance from London to New York; it would have prevented the rapid exhaustion of our natural resources and kept the price of farm products on a paying basis, that of silver near the price of gold and wages at the American standard. It would have prevented the sudden expansion of the rural population and diverted the overflow into industrial pursuits and thus have advanced American industries; it would have increased the urban population from American stock and excluded the unskilled pauper labor of Europe, in race and religion hostile to Anglo-Saxon civilization. It could not exclude the farmer and artisan of nations standing on the level of American culture and who assisted us in the opening of the storehouses of nature and

in the development of higher industries. It would have made impossible the acquisition of colossal fortunes, land monopolies, the existence of railroad and silver kings, the usurious exploitation of the farmer and the crowding of labor. It would have made the money issued by the national government the only circulating medium and prevented mischievous contraction and expansion for the benefit of Capitalism. Without any material disturbance in our economic conditions we might have continued, like France, the Gold standard during the Civil War. The conditions of the world's commerce, the financial interdependence of all civilized nations, and the abundance of silver will in the nearest future enforce monometalism throughout the world independently of all possible changes in the social order of the civilized nations.

SECTION III

The Functions of the National Government as to National Improvements. To the pitiful failures of the Republican party in the reconstruction, financial and agrarian policy must be added another: the criminal thoughtlessness and, later on, corruptibility in all its measures for internal improvements.

It created not a general and comprehensive system of national improvements benefiting the living and providing for the necessities of posterity. Every one of its measures was the result of log-rolling and of Parliamentarism, that is of the kind of statesmanship which looks not to the past and anticipates the future, but solely considers temporary party advantages and the interests of classes. The annual consideration by Congress of the "River and Harbor Bill" exhibited to the world a disgraceful spectacle, a wrangling and bargaining to secure a larger part of the corruption fund to further corrupt corruptible constituencies. Hundreds of millions have been wasted and thrown into the bottomless pit of Parliamentarism.

The Republican party invested our economic and social order with the great railroad corporations and *Credit mobiliers* and established an infamous policy of land-grants through which the very life blood of the American democracy was transfused into the system of Capitalism to stimulate its growth into plutocracy. Adhering to the *laissez faire* policy of the Democratic party applicable only to a

people of pastoral life and pursuits, the Republican party was unmindful of its parentage, of the causes of its organization: the changed condition in the economic and social order of the civilized world, and the necessity of the speedy transformation of our political organism into one in harmony with the complex order of modern civilization. Instead of advancing us to a higher social order than that possessed by any other nation, an advancement for which all our conditions were propitious, the economic policy of the Republican party acted conversely on our body politic; it changed these conditions in such a manner as to make the transition one *from an agricultural to an almost proletarian population.*

Instead of profiting from the experience of Europe, and making the undertaking of the great national improvements a national matter, the party adhered to an economic policy of assisting private corporations with the credit and property of the nation, of burdening the generality of the nation with moral and financial responsibility, while the people were powerless to guard against the jobbers' greediness or to avert the moral and economic dangers of mismanagement and corruption surely to follow the application of a defunct policy to the vigorous growth of a youthful and energetic nation. Thus the Republican party is responsible for the corruption which its false economic policy has diffused from the Capitol into every branch of public life. The economic, social and political results of this policy are strongly and correctly set forth in an editorial article which appeared years ago in the daily *New York Sun*, the most able and outspoken organ of Capitalism, Romanism, and of every reactionary interest in the country, and in its expressions demonstrative against all popular political progress and strongly defending the defunct policy of non-intervention by the Government in the economic affairs of the nation. The article headed "Railroad Wreckage in the West" reads as follows:

"Recent reports of the condition of some of the largest of our Western railroad corporations, present the most disastrous and discouraging spectacle in our commercial history. The wreckage of the Northern Pacific, the Atchison, the Union Pacific, and other vast railroad properties, is almost beyond comprehension in its enormity. This ruin

has been achieved by steady gradations at a time when the development of the surrounding country had not been retarded, when the population had been rapidly increasing, and when every condition conducive to prosperity existed in abundance. It was not caused by the shrinkage in silver, the abandonment of mines, or the money panic. These events gave it emphasis, and precipitated results that had long been inevitable.

"Not the least discouraging aspect of the whole situation is that the courts have resolved in almost every instance to appoint as receivers for these bankrupted properties the very men under whose management their misfortunes had been created! The men who, by their incapacity or dishonesty, have dragged down great and powerful organizations, seem by those very qualifications to have commended themselves to the courts. They have been made the receivers. Their personal emoluments are greater than the salaries they had before. Their control is more absolute, and they perpetuate with insolence and defiance the vices that disgraced their previous administration.

"Never was the management of the lines affected more ent-throat and depraved than it is at the present moment. Never was the competition more reckless and dishonest, or more strongly marked by the personal proclivities of the management. The Inter-State Commerce Commission is set at naught and openly defied. In fact, it finds itself reduced to a single remedy, that of *impeaching the Judges* under whose authority the work of disintegration and ruin is now carried on!"

Truly, a satiric tragedy on the policy of non-intervention, of the restriction of the national government's powers and responsibilities in the age of universal progress, of science, and of the absolute dependence of the individual on the nation as a whole. The Republican party failed in its mission. The abolition of slavery, considered from a purely humane standpoint, was imposed on the party by the imperative condition of the civilization of the age. This humane agency was only an ideal motive in the organization of the Republican party; its political mission was the removal of the destructive and restrictive economic forces flowing out of the institution of chattel slavery that retarded or prevented the crystallization of the nation and

its economic progress in the spirit of the age, its evolution from the policy of *laissez faire* into that of corporate responsibility. Therefore, the very birth of the Republican party was a revolutionary act of the intelligence of the country and of the necessity, instinctively perceived by the democracy of the North, of such a reconstruction of society and of such a readjustment of the functions of governments as to enable the people to reach in the transition from pastoral and provincial life, in an orderly manner a higher social order, that state of society which under the operation of the law of intussusception, in its application to races and nations, and in the age of scientific research, will be the product of human thought, of the application of science to every day life, and of the collective development in the humane.

The founders of the Republican party were the revolutionary spirit of the German immigration of 1848-49 and their advanced economic ideas, and the progressive spirit of the intellectual elements in Puritanism. Having passed the theological period in intellectual advancement, these elements drifted into rationalism but unfortunately they preserved that distaste for innovation which belongs to the Anglo-Saxon, and many of them preserved a distrust of human nature derived from their creed and were affected by moral cowardice transmitted from the glacial period of Puritanism. These defects and the unfortunate wrangle between the German element and Puritanical provincialism over unimportant matters of social habits and the amenities of life, subject only to the leveling influences of time and the gently flowing stream of culture, were the causes of the party's switching off the main road of religious, economic and social progress to the many side-tracks of economic and social heresies on which it ran to the great smash-up in 1912. These were the causes, that gradually turned the intellectual part of the nation, the learned professions away from the Republican party, deprived them of the leadership, and led to the party's violation and perversion by Capitalism, intolerance and demagogism.

The organization of the Republican party sprung from the conviction of the intelligent of the nation, that the Whig party was a relic of the society of the eighteenth century, of the aristocratic agencies which organized the national

government; that the Democratic party was the creature of the transcendental politics of that age on which our Constitution is based and from which the *Declaration of Independence* flowed, meaning much and, in the age of collective progress, effecting nothing; that the Democratic party, when slavery had squeezed out of it transcendentalism, was merely a shell with nothing in it; its cracked and dented surface covered with an ancient French varnish, which in our times has been retouched with the Papal colors with the carefully preserving the faded picture of the Goddess of Liberty and of the Phrygian cap, the symbols of hollow skepticism, Latin effervescence, and sansculotism.

As a civilizing factor in the life of the American nation or as an expression and receptacle of American democracy we may as well dismiss the Democratic party from further consideration. It needed not the demonstration of its imbecility, corruption, and subserviency to trusts and corporations and to international Capitalism during the short period of its renewed power in 1884 and 1892 to convince the student of history and of sociology and the common sense of the American people that to the politicians of the Democratic party may justly be applied Napoleon's judgment of the Bourbons after the Restoration: "They have forgotten nothing and learned nothing." Its present tenure will end as disastrously though its present leader is an honest and learned man but the product of narrow Presbyterianism and Southern prejudices. The first gun fired at Fort Sumter was the death-knell of the Democratic party.

SECTION IV

Tariff Legislation, the Land Question, and Commerce.

Of organic laws passed by the Republican party only two originated in a true conception of its economic and social mission. They were those relating to the acquisition of homesteads and to the development of higher industries.

The homestead law failed in its purpose of maintaining an equitable division of the land and could not exert the beneficent influences on the nation's economic condition expected of it because it was tainted in principle, neutralized by the land grants to corporations and the studiously corrupt administration of the land offices in the interest of Capitalism.

While the tariff legislation effected all expected of it in our transformation into an industrial nation, as a moral and political factor to maintain the economic independence of the masses and thus support and advance democracy, it failed entirely of its purpose. In its tariff-legislation, the Republican party was Janus-faced. Professing a policy for the benefit of the masses, of the generality of the nation, the party prostituted the powers of the government for half a century for the benefit of a class, or rather, to the creation of classes and class rule. While the principle of protection was correct in its application to the process of material crystallization of American society, in its moral adaptation, as far as our economic conditions were concerned, it was unscientific, arbitrary, corrupt, and, therefore, inimical to democracy. It failed to preserve the national resources and the social equality of the people, the very conditions on which the stability of the Republic depends.

The Republican party also failed in its duty toward the commercial and industrial interests of the nation in another direction. Through cowardice, following in the wake of its false financial and land policy, it suffered England to destroy American shipping and American commerce, and, through corruption, failed during and after the Civil War to apply the proper remedial measures. The prohibition of all exports and imports in English vessels, and the declaration of a policy of reprisal would have taught the moneyed power of England and her middle class that a selfish policy, unmindful of all laws alike of neutrality and humanity, would be fraught with danger. England, then, was not in a condition to risk a naval war and to endanger her lines of communication with her colonies. Instead of having the seas lighted by our burning ships, we might with beneficial results to our national welfare have used them to destroy English commerce and imperil the British colonial empire.

The corruption of Congress and the mediocrity and subserviency to International Capitalism of succeeding administrations prevented the application of the only measure which would have reëstablished our supremacy in the ocean carrying trade when ninety per cent. of our foreign commerce was carried in our own vessels. The remedial measure should have been the laying of an additional duty on

all imports in foreign ships. The first navigation law passed in 1789 by the founders of the Republic was in the line of such a policy. It had built up the American navy; it had preserved our independence in the war of 1812 when it compelled England reluctantly to acknowledge our naval supremacy.

No maritime nation can maintain commercial independence or political autonomy, no industrial nation can lastingly fully employ its labor and maintain its industrial independence and national prosperity without the capacity to build ships and carry the products of industry in its own bottoms to all parts of the world. It is but a question of time when our industries must seek markets in all parts of the world to enable us to keep up our balance with foreign nations, inasmuch as our ability largely to export the great staple products of the farm will soon have ceased. It should have been the province of the Republican party to pierce into future contingencies and to provide by legislation for the one, now fast approaching. Ignoring alike the facts and teachings of history, we failed to provide the education and means necessary successfully to enter into the world's commerce, to insure the profitable employment of an ever increasing industrial population, and to guard against the demoralizing effects of over-production and of the lowering of the American standard of wages on the life of the American democracy.

SECTION V

National Education and Pro-Roman Party Leaders. Springing from the intellect of the people, as a product of Puritanism and of the ideal endeavors of German revolutionists, the Republican party's first and most imperative duty after the war was clearly defined. The nation was then in the process of formation. The ethical culture of the growing generation that, under new economic and social conditions, was to be the custodian of the Republic, was of first importance. It should have been the groundwork of all political legislation.

It is now universally recognized as a political truth, that the future of a nation depends on the degree of ethical culture enjoyed by the generality of the nation. The recognition of this truth, though to them partly veiled by super-

naturalism, caused the Pilgrim fathers to establish common schools. As the political heir to Puritanism, the Republican party ought to have enlarged and modernized the trust transmitted to it. Therefore, the nationalization of university and common school education, with its basis in the ethics of the Teuton race and of the Reformation, ought to have been the most sacred duty of the Republican party—a duty it sadly neglected. Wandering in the wilderness of materialism, of political intrigue, and of corruption, the party leaders were unable to follow the great moral light the Pilgrims had set for the guidance of posterity.

It is true, that the party, in its youth and, while yet untainted with the vices of Parliamentarism, Romanism and Capitalism, endeavored to fulfill its cultural mission; it set aside millions of acres of land for educational purposes, but entrusted the endowments to irresponsible, divergent, and often hostile agencies.

A wonderful succession of epoch-making events made an empire out of a geographical expression, and a nation out of a concourse of individuals. To be of lasting duration, the empire needed a binding element, the nation an imperishable soul. The uniform intellectual training of our youth should have provided the one, ethical culture free from theology, but under the precepts of the Reformation and within the traditions of our race, the other. The Republican party failed in this and, with it, it failed in the grand total of its lofty mission to guide the American people in their transformation into a nation and to provide the foundation for a new social order which under the changed economic and political conditions of civilization, in the age of collective progress, is absolutely necessary to sustain democracy that humanity may elevate it with a divine purpose. The Republican party, in its great mission as a guiding, uplifting influence, failed in that it did not continually set before our people and the civilized world the high ideals of democracy, and take the lead in great agitations for its advancement, for freedom and humanity.

It failed to retain as national property the treasures hidden in the earth; it failed in an equitable division of the land; it failed in its protective policy as a moral factor in the life of our democracy; it failed to provide a national

system of law exemplifying the principles of democracy, embodying the progress in thought and science, and in harmony with the changes in our economic and social conditions; it failed to advance the nation to a higher level, intellectually, morally, and in the humane.

When Capitalism had stifled the passions of ambition and of humanity within the party, when greed and avarice had banished from its councils the cultured and the idealists, when corruption and mediocrity had outraged the moral and common sense of the farmer and artisan, the pygmean race of party leaders appealed to Romanism and to the Celt; they prostrated themselves before the Papal throne and were ready to sacrifice the nation's birthright for the spoils of office. They gave distinct and slavish expression of their apostasy from the faith and principles of the Pilgrim fathers when they accepted a Papal delegate and entered into the Spanish pro-Roman war, when they placed a Romanist at the head of the party's national committee and of the National Supreme Court, and challenged the traditions of centuries and the moral nature of the Anglo-Saxon. Though only partly conscious as to purport, the American people, in 1912, defeated the party led by mountebanks and jobbers, who traded on the memory of Lincoln, Sumner and Wilson. The Republican victories in 1893 to 1896 were not a sign of regained confidence but were the outcome of circumstances over which the people had no control. At the time, as in 1912, no other party commanded the confidence of the people or presented a programme evolved from the ethics of the race, providing for the needs of the times and for future contingencies and, therefore, promising an orderly advance in the structure of society.

The great democracy of the North also cherished the hope that the Republican party might still be redeemed through the ascendancy of the intellectual and moral forces which, though in sorrow and despair, had steadily adhered to it. The pygmean leaders entirely misunderstood the causes of the unexpected victories. Utterly surprised, well aware of their disregard of public welfare, of their intellectual insignificance, and of the incongruity between themselves and the ideals of the nation, they styled the unexpected events "Acts of Providence" by which their calculations were

greatly upset. Solely moved by greed and avarice, and in their blind subserviency to International Capitalism and Rome, they had already trimmed their sails to steer their course in the wake of the Democratic party which then possessed the confidence of the moneyed powers, and by its composition and freedom from all progressive elements promised to become the real harbinger of plutocratic ideas. These pygmean statesmen thought the American experiment of popular government a gigantic failure, and the American people in the depth of moral debasement. Therefore, they were unable to discern the true causes of a political change which was a last protest against Capitalism and the reactionary forces generally trying to force upon the nation the yoke of plutocracy and of Romanism.

While these petty politicians without statesmanship, without breadth of intellect, without character and without the democratic instinct of the American people, were encircling their brows with wisps of straw and, in their unconscious self-deception, imagined themselves masters of the people, they strained the endurance of Anglo-Saxon love of law and order to the limit, and *the break will surely come should they again impose upon either party their leadership, their passions, selfishness, and corruption*, to make the public treasury their silent partner and the public their prey. The flood gates of the people's wrath will be raised, should these Lilliputians attempt to stem the onward march of the American democracy and to deliver it into the hands of the Jesuits and Shylocks.

With these politicians the most sacred patriotic duties and the deepest affections go for nothing over against political combinations and the demands of Capitalism and Rome. They are intent only on furthering their private interests and the infernal conspiracy to rob the American people of religious, economic, and political liberty. They are damming up the waters which at no distant date may burst the confines and sweeping the fabric of society from its very foundation will leave in their wake ruin and chaos. They and their masters, Popery and the trusts and corporations, the avaricious and the cunning, are the real anarchical forces that slowly but steadily and surely destroy the safeguards of society in a democracy, the moral life of the people, their trust in justice and equity, and their expectations.

The sentiment of honest pride which springs in the human breast from a sense of duty and patriotism does not exist in the conscience of our party leaders, and their whole moral personality is impervious to contempt, public opinion, and the wail of a suffering people.

PART IV
THE ANARCHICAL CONDITION OF AMERICAN
SOCIETY

CHAPTER I

DEFECTS IN THE ORGANIC STRUCTURE OF THE REPUBLIC

SECTION I

The Terrible Progress of Demoralization. Under a representative form of government the National Assembly is the touchstone of the nation's intellectual, moral, and political worth. On a great occasion Daniel Webster said: "It is fortunate that there is a Senate of the United States, a body not yet moved from its propriety, nor lost to a just sense of its own dignity and its own high responsibilities, and a body to which the country looks with confidence for wise, moderate, patriotic and healing counsels."

To-day the Senate is an incubus and an obstruction; it is charged with bribery and corruption; it is composed of ordinary wire pullers, creatures of monopolies, of plutocrats, who bought their elevation to further their own interests and those of their class. It is without propriety and dignity, and as the slave of Popery and Capitalism has lost the sense of high responsibilities as the guardian of democracy against the anarchical forces flowing from demagogism and mammonism. It has become the naked and undisguised instrument of trusts and syndicates. Its tyrannical power has of late been used to further the most shameful and most selfish conspiracies to enrich a few capitalists at the expense of the American people. A body with such tyrannical power and disregard of public welfare is far more dangerous than the ridiculous and irritating anachronism of the English House of Lords. Whether the new amendment to the Constitution will advance the moral and intellectual composition of that body is doubtful.

The Senate should be abolished. It is a superfluous and therefore an always reactionary body.

The House of Representatives is a mob of vulgar and greedy office hunters and wire pullers, a confused, disorderly throng of guerilla bands engaged in the service of the lobby in predatory warfare against the public. While the country was in the throes of a financial and industrial crisis, while millions of willing hands were idle, and starvation and despair were invading the houses of the toilers, Congress wasted time and the substance of the people in childish gibberish, or purposely prolonged the crisis of 1893 and with it the people's misery that Senators and Congressmen might speculate in commodities affected by the provisions of a new tariff, and the trusts manipulate the Stock Exchanges of the World.

When political rogues fall out, the people usually hear the truth. Of our National Legislature Mr. Cleveland said in his second inaugural address: "While Congress legislates in ignorance, prejudice and passion or in behalf of selfish interests, while the sense of duty in our representatives is utterly degraded, the world receives the impression that the American people are either deficient in courage and wisdom, or in reverence for pure and elevated principles; that the American democracy is either void of broad and disinterested patriotism or a counterfeit appearance of government by the people." In the face of the Mulhall and Lamar disclosures who will say that Mr. Cleveland's remarks do not fit our times? The party and the platform that our politicians select is but a means to the attainment of a position which will enable them to improve their business connections and to amass riches. They only regard politics as a lucrative career, in which the best chances are reserved to those who sell themselves with the most cynicism.

It is true that the people of the North failed in their duty. In the chase after the almighty dollar and in the complete absorption in materialism and pleasure they lost the moral sense necessary to distinguish between right and wrong and the faculty to divest prosperity and riches of their luster, to scrutinize the agencies through which they were attained and acquired. In business and politics the only standard before which the American people bowed in humble reverence was success. The whole nation was

morally prostrated by a feverish desire to gain riches and to squander them in riotous living. In this paroxysm of worldliness, in the total absorption in the outward things, and intoxicated with success, the nation lost its moral equilibrium and could not perceive that the old laws and customs were no longer suited to the necessities of the day, and must be abrogated.

The system of morality underlying the American democracy was that delivered in the gospel, or rather moral theology. When, therefore, in the age of science, faith in the supernatural weakened, and the churches failed to impose larger and higher conditions on the conduct of the nation, than the religion of old permitted, and to supplant it with a more vitalized and liberating faith in the spiritual relations with God and fellowmen and adapted to modern thought, our system of morality became a soulless code of external obligation and conformity, fixed and stationary, its existence prolonged only by artificial and external means, instead of by process of inner and organic growth. In fact, in the age of intellectual progress and scientific research, the American democracy remained in a rudimentary stage of moral and spiritual development. Wherever there is no progress, there is stagnation and decay. While thus the very foundation of American democracy, public morality, gradually failed in its functions, the superstructure was not adapted to modern life and to the expansion of society.

SECTION II

The Constitution of the United States and the Supreme Court. It may be justly said that the American people were more sinned against than sinning. They had been taught that our order of government was infallible, the perfection of human thought, and that the National Constitution is a panacea for all the ills of mankind to the world's end.

The fact is, the progress of the American democracy has been stopped or inverted by constitutional provisos based on conditions entirely outlived and superseded by new conditions in the economic and social life of the nation. It is undoubtedly true, and only fools will gainsay that our Constitution contains eternal truths, that it is the embodiment of Greek thought and closely adheres to the

“Articles of the Union of Utrecht” of 1579. But neither the Greek philosophers, whose democracies were reared on slavery, nor the liberty loving defenders of Protestantism in the Netherlands, whose political institutions the Pilgrims and the Fathers of the Republic so closely copied, or these, could have provided for the exigencies of generations under social conditions of which, before the age of science, the most profound thinkers could have no thought. While the basic principles of the Constitution represent the wisdom and experience of ages, the mode of application could not be in advance of the times and of the conception of man and things held by the framers of the instrument. When the conditions of national life overlap the province of a constitution, the latter is taken out of the ordinary relations of the nation and is enclosed in a sphere by itself. In other words, it becomes a dead weight in the body politic. This is our case. Our constitution cannot be modified except through such processes as itself ordains which, in ordinary times, practically exclude the initiative by the people in its revision.

The founders of the Union, when they drafted the Constitution, could not foresee the extension of the Republic from ocean to ocean. Neither could they discern the diversity of interests which were to arise between sections of the Union through a change in social life, and in the relations of the civilized nations, a change brought about by economic advances which at the close of the eighteenth century were entirely beyond the conception of the wisest of men and for which the future may reserve a momentous rôle in the Federal government. The American democracy in its onward march might have avoided many pitfalls and advanced more rapidly without a written constitution. We might then have lived more in the spirit of the *Declaration of Independence* and the people would have evolved therefrom a succession of laws and forms of government in keeping with the times and beneficial to the progress of democracy.

When our Constitution was adopted England had already learned by experience that all political questions submitted to Courts will be decided in a partisan sense or in the interest of the class or party to which the judges, or a majority thereof, owe their elevation. With this experience in mind, the aristocratic elements and class interests

which influenced the organization of the Federal government imposed on the American people an abnormal and singular condition, entrusting the delimitation of the Constitution and the interpretation of its provisions to the whims, passions, and possibly to the corruption of a small body of men entirely removed from the people and altogether independent thereof. Theoretically the Supreme Court of the United States is made independent of politics. In practice it is composed of partisans, and of representatives of the classes, of particularistic and moneyed interests. Its members are not elected by the people, are not subjected to their discipline, but are only amenable to an irresponsible and perpetual body, the U. S. Senate, which of all representative bodies of the world has been the furthest removed from all progressive, moral, and popular influences. Thus, at the bidding of Capitalism, Romanism and Bourbonism, the sacred roll has been perforated, bended and twisted into all shapes by these Judges; they have jumped through the vellum with the agility with which circus riders jump through the paper-hoop. Years ago the leaders of a strike in China were strangled by order of the Emperor. Our Judges attempted to strangle labor and social progress by an interpretation of the Constitution. A French general and statesman said of the Government of Russia: "It is an Asiatic despotism moderated by assassination." Jefferson accepted the Constitution as a necessary evil, tempered by newspapers. He clearly foresaw that, with the spirit of democracy declining, the Constitution could and would be used to stifle liberty by process of law. He could not foresee that newspapers were to become the mouthpieces of every interest hostile to democracy.

The notion that the American masses dearly love the Constitution *per se* is largely traditional. The expressions of excessive devotion to it were always more or less the exclusive province and property of the Fourth-of-July orators; of late it appears that the sacred roll has passed "into the keeping of the Pope, of his Italian-American Deputy, of the Irish-Roman-American hierarchy, and of the class of patriots who profit by the opportunities which certain of its provisions offer for the despoilment of the people and for Jesuitism creepingly to pass the portals of liberty that it may supplant our Christian civilization with Popery.

In point of fact, the day of sentiment is nearly over and no fine drawn analysis of the rights of man and of constitutional restrictions will serve the present and future needs of the American people. The country will soon be in a condition which must push forward to its solution the question, whether the whole machinery of legislation shall be blocked and the progress of the nation shall be stopped by an organic law enacted for the government of an agricultural people of four millions before the possibilities of democracy were even thought of, when suffrage depended on property qualifications, when the masses had no voice in the government, and their political emancipation appeared utopian.

In a democracy, constitutions and laws are social contracts representing the articles of partnership embracing the whole people who are the real undertakers in common of whatever the State assumes the care and cost of. Therefore, whenever the people desire to change the conditions of partnership, they may do so, or they may so interpret them as it seems best for the common weal. During the nation's progression to the complex condition called the civilisation of the twentieth century, we were content to live under an organic law drafted by mortals to whom the future was veiled and as such could not provide the safeguards to prevent the invasion by avarice and cunning of an instrument based on transcendental politics which, in the Jeffersonian age, had arisen spontaneously.

The further we are forced by economic changes in the condition of life to depart from Jeffersonian democracy and the more we lose the substance of liberty, the more we hear about the sacredness of the Constitution. Some of these worshipers are old disgruntled fellows and withal harmless because in their dotage. The fixed habits of thought which they acquired in parish politics or in the menial service of slavery have dwarfed their intellect. Others again are of the hypocritical sort with more of the knave than the fool in their mental and moral composition. They are the agents of the reactionary powers, the tools of the enemies of democracy, and of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Of course they affiliate with the Jesuits. Their ostentatious profession of devotion to the Constitution serves as the bandit's cloak to hide the dagger with which these renegades or disguised Romanists attempt to stab American

liberty to death. To divert the public mind from the aggressions of Romanism and Capitalism, the high priests of mammon set up the parchment rolls of the Constitution for the adoration of the thoughtless multitude that they may the better, like the high priests of Judea, deliver their people into the bondage of Rome and of the money changers of the world.

Bacon said of wars, that they go on their bellies. So do states and democracies. The secret of the success of our Federal government is not the nice balance maintained by our constitution between the powers of the executive, legislative, and judiciary departments of the central government or between it and State rights but our ability to provide wholesome food to keep the digestive organs of the masses in a healthy condition. Whenever the standard of American living shall be perceptibly lowered, then the American people, as they did before, will speedily impress the moneyed power and the knaves and fogies of politics with the fact, that the descendants of the patriots who threw the tea into Boston harbor and emancipated millions of slaves, constitutionally guaranteed property, will not stand idly by while Capitalism and Romanism constitutionally pervert the republic into an empire in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the wealthy classes under the supremacy of the Pontiff. There is a higher authority than the Constitution, the authority of the people, which must in the last resort, decide. Much they have already suffered. But if the signs on our political firmament do not belie us, the time is nigh when the people will exercise this authority.

SECTION III

The Presidential Form of Government. The political causes of the corruption and medioeraey which for over a generation have characterized our National, State, and Municipal governments are evils latent in the Federal Constitution and in antiquated administrative organization. These evils were revealed when American society outgrew provincialism and the narrow conditions of pastoral life.

To-day it is a serious question demanding an early solution whether the Presidential form of government, that is, personal government, is the proper one for a democracy embracing an industrial nation of ninety millions of people.

Within a generation, under the complex conditions of modern civilization, it has shown all the faults and drawbacks of absolutism and monarchism and none of their redeeming qualities. Commanding the army and navy and an immense patronage to corrupt Congress and the Veto to coerce it, also controlling the Federal judiciary, the President actually wields powers more arbitrary and morally and physically more effective on the body politic and, therefore, more dangerous to the maintenance and progress of popular government than any of the constitutional monarchs of Europe. With the gradual decline of democracy, unavoidable under industrial feudalism and present social conditions, the Presidential form of government, in itself, must powerfully aid the reactionary elements ever ready to deprive the masses of sovereignty.

The mode of election is a standing menace to democracy because it is an ever flowing source of evils which have gradually undermined political morality and made universal suffrage, the crowning franchise and strongest safeguard to the liberties of the people, almost illusory. It fosters corruption and favors mediocrity, inasmuch as it forces nominating conventions to consider, first of all, the availability of candidates in their relation to political machines and borough interests. The highest office is the football of huckstering political jugglers, of ignorant and rapacious negro delegations, of demagogues in the pay of corporations, and of bosses who rose from the foulest moral cesspool of ward politics or are the representatives of large private interests. The election, being by states and, indirect, always turns on pivotal States and, therefore, necessitates the raising of large corruption funds from trusts, corporations, and the moneyed interests generally. Thus nominations for the Presidency are actually sold to the highest bidder and the successful candidate, of course, at once becomes a mere tool of interests hostile to democracy.

It is only a touch of nature that he should desire a reelection. The taste of power, luxury, and splendor, once enjoyed, develops in our materialistic age a deeply hidden but nevertheless irresistible agency of corruption. The Presidents of the future will be neither stoics nor ascetics, therefore, their moral being will give way to the natural desire to live, after the expiration of their term of office, in

the luxurious surroundings experienced in the White House.

The candidates of the future must be chosen from the very rich or the Presidents will be tempted to amass large fortunes—a temptation too strong for ordinary mortals to withstand. Therefore, the American people will be placed between “Scylla and Charybdis.” From bestowing high offices for favors and money received during the election to downright stealing is but one step. Thus the people may be overwhelmed with scandal and infamy. Since the second election of Grant, with the exception of Wilson, the Presidency has been the sport of political machines, of particularistic and moneyed interests, and of hierarchical designs. Consequently the candidates were always studiously selected from a class of ordinary politicians of moderate excellence, lacking in the high intellectual and moral qualities absolutely necessary to guide a powerful, numerous, and always advancing nation under complex conditions without impairment of the sensibilities and spirit of democracy. Certainly the Presidential office is inconsistent with it; in a democracy it is an anomalism and, sooner or later, will be used as a lever for the discomfiture and reduction of the people. Either the office should be abolished or the President should be elected by the direct vote of the people for only one term corresponding with that of the popular branch of Congress which should be extended to six years under the law of the recall.

SECTION IV

Is Parliamentary Government a Failure? The late Prince Consort of England provoked the conservative element in English society by declaring that, in his opinion, “parliamentary government was on trial.” To judge from the action of parliamentary bodies, the world over, it appears reasonable that the peoples governed by them are nearly ready to pronounce a verdict which undoubtedly will be unfavorable to the infallibility and sanctity of representative institutions under their present organization and mode of election.

Our Congress makes no exception from the general rule. Parliamentarism has demonstrated the fact that the middle class, which it represents, is no longer able to direct intel-

ligently and honestly the affairs of great nations. It is bankrupt in mind and soul. Corruption, ignorance, overbearing insolence, and slavish subordination to the moneyed interests are to-day the curses of parliamentarism. In modern times all questions of State can be solved only by the application of the highest intellectual and moral efforts, with the aid of a varied and thorough knowledge of the subjects under discussion. Most of these demand the study and experience of a lifetime, historical and scientific research, earnestness of purpose and disinterested loyalty to the general interests of the nation. The manner of selection of the representatives to the popular branch of Congress does not assure these qualities. Nominations are localized and given for political services as party rewards, or to pacify or propitiate local and private interests, in a factitious spirit, often in spite and peevishness. Thus, men of high intellect, of superior education, and of patriotism, who are master minds in their calling, are seldom chosen as exponents of popular government under an election system which carries mediæval traditions and antiquated usages into the ever expanding life of modern times.

Our House of Representatives is, therefore, an assemblage of men of much tongue and little judgment or knowledge, of arrant demagogues and moral cowards, and of narrow-minded villagers and vulgar ward politicians. It is too numerous a body to act rationally and intelligently. The make-up of its committees is the result of log-rolling and party intrigue, of Executive self-conceit and ambition, and of the demands of large private interests which require payment in favorable legislation for the moneys expended in the election of members and for the success of parties. The House of Representatives is no longer possessed of the democratic spirit and of an exalted conception of public duties commanding a fearless and honest loyalty to the people, aye, the sense of duty in the representatives of the Nation is signally and deplorably degraded. The spirit now animating our representatives is one of subserviency to Capitalism and the reactionary forces generally, of malign intent against the vital interests of the nation, and of rank demagogism to hoodwink the open-mouthed, thoughtless, and vulgarly constituted voters.

SECTION V

The Senate of the United States. When the question of the adoption or rejection of the Constitution of the United States was submitted to the States, the decision turning on the affirmative vote of Middletown, a small village in New York, it was generally considered a compromise measure, a make-shift, through which democracy secured a popular National assembly and the classes the most undemocratic representative body in the world, the Federal Senate.

The principle of State rights, past and present, the expression of class privileges and particularistic interests, was embodied in the Senate, an assemblage of notables made immutable and perpetual as long as any one of the States shall remain under the influence of the classes. The constitution provides that no State can be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate without its own consent. This clause clothes the Senate with the attributes of perpetuity and immutability and with a quasi monarchical character of government by the Grace of God.

As a legislative body, having nearly coördinate powers with the House of Representatives, with additional executive powers vested in the right to confirm or to reject the administrative and army and navy appointments of the Executive, and the right to confirm or reject the appointments to the highest constitutional Court, a right enclosing an element of absolutism in government, the Federal Senate is *de facto* if not *de jure* the government of the United States, an elective oligarchy responsible to nobody, its members amenable only to its own discipline. In point of fact, it is the most extraordinary political body that ever existed, a body entirely independent of the governed and to a sense even independent of the Constitution or superior to it, because it controls the court interpreting the same. In its constitution and authority the Federal Senate can only be compared with the "Council of Ten" of Venice. The history of this body may become also the history of the United States Senate.

The principal reason for the creation of these bodies was the supposed necessity of a bulwark and defense against fantastic and anarchical legislation. So long as the community remained morally pure and within the economic and social confines existing at the time of the creation of these bodies, they fulfilled their functions and fitted nicely into

the framework of society. But under changed economic conditions, with the growth in power, population and class interests, with the exception of the Papal camarilla, the Council of Ten became the most corrupt and despotic political body known to history. The Federal Senate, in its development into an oligarchic body, has already reached the stage of corruption. With the growth of Industrial Feudalism and therefore of Capitalism in the South, with the corresponding decline in power of the Northern democracy and a crisis in our social relations approaching, the Federal Senate may yet develop the despotic character of the Council of Ten. That many of our Senators are already thus spirited appears from the fact that the bill offered by a reconstructed Southern brigadier in 1894, under cover of protecting the mail at the time of the Chicago railroad strike, for the punishment of railroad strikers with twenty years' penal servitude, was received in silence and regularly referred. The nefarious measure raised no outcry of democratic indignation and no protest of outraged humanity.

The "King is dead. Long live the King." Under the ancient régime this loyal proclamation gave expression to the immutability and perpetuity of absolutism. Our King never dies. The Federal Senate represents to-day under the parliamentary system of government of the people, by the people, for the people, the ancient régime of the resurrected slavocracy and of the classes under new environments and conditions destructive alike to the moral sense and patriotic and chivalric spirit of which in *ante bellum* days the Senate was the embodiment of the liberties of the people. The Senators from the South are the representatives of the landed aristocracy, those from the North the representatives of plutocracy. Henceforth the history of the Senate will be a relation of its corruption, of violations and perversions of the laws, of usurpation of the powers of the general government, of the restriction and curtailment of popular rights, and of the discomfiture of democracy.

Immutability and perpetuity mean immunity which, in government, is always a pretext and an incentive for outraging decency and liberty. The Federal Senate should be abolished and supplanted by technical commissions to prepare and supervise national legislation. It would be idle hypocrisy not to say plainly that the immense majority of

the American people are sick to death of an institution which on account of its corruption has become an eyesore and a nuisance, and in its imbecile weakness and immobility, and arrogant self-imposture is a stumbling block to the nation's economic and social progress. It is nonsense to say that the Federal Senate is a bulwark of State rights as they are popularly understood, and the palladium of local liberties. It is the bulwark of class privileges and on its preservation the safety of the Republic does not depend, rather the growth of plutocracy and the enslavement of the masses.

It is true, that in the infancy of the Republic, when the masses were yet to be educated to self-government, there was a *raison d'être* for the creation and existence of the Federal Senate. At that time monarchical traditions were prevalent and the masses, as yet, had no conception of political morality and of the ethics of democracy. A conservative body was, therefore, necessary to guard against the possible extravagances of a possible parliamentary demagogism and to stand between the people and the adventures of Executive ambition, and between the people and political suicide, under the stress of their own passions and caprices.

Unfortunately for the perpetuity of American institutions and democracy, the Greek scholars and statesmen of vague and illusive philosophy, who drafted and were the sponsors of the Federal Constitution, took as their model for such a conservative body the creations of Greek and Roman statesmanship paying little or no attention to institutions historically evolved from the democracy and morality of the Teuton race. Being slave-holders or living in a community sanctioning slavery, they mistook the Greek communities and the ancient Roman Republic for true democracies, whereas, according to Christian and Teuton ethics only such communities can be called democracies wherein every mentally sound and morally qualified person is socially free and politically the equal of his fellow man. A political body enjoying immunity is an anomaly in a republic; it is a standing menace to democracy because it represents for the benefit of the classes the monarchical principle of irresponsible government of divine origin.

When the federal constitution was adopted, with the exception of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, State rights represented the reserved rights of the classes. The

States were not democracies, and their constitutions granted to the common people neither social nor political rights. The new States, organized under Congressional supervision, became democracies, because the National legislature, at that time, was a revolutionary body and the shortsightedness of Southern statesmanship permitted the spirit of Puritanism to permeate the new organic bodies. The reflex action of these on the older bodies, the influences of the French revolution, the extension of economic opportunities through the opening of new territories, the struggle over the extension of slavery, and finally immigration made democracies of the original States in the North. When this social-political process was completed the Senators from the North were the representatives of true democracies and exhibited to the world the sublime spectacle of an assemblage of notables of the highest intellectual power and political morality, of deepest devotion to the country, to the people and to humanity. The Senators from the South were possessed of the chivalric spirit of a landed aristocracy which also excluded the jobbers' greed from the Council chamber. The Southern delegation represented in the Senate State, or reserved, rights which together with slavery the Northern delegation with its growth in the democratic spirit more and more vigorously assailed. The error of the Democratic party, leading to its ultimate disruption, has been the defence of a principle as democratic that is at variance with the principle of self-government or township-system of government from which American democracy took its start. The Populist movement in the South and West, though partly fantastic and irrational, has been and is an unconscious protest against the doctrine of State rights and its undemocratic spirit.

With the decline of democracy in the North, with the retrogression of its society into castes, that is into a division of the rich and poor, the Federal Senate had again to assume its original character as the bulwark of reserved rights which in the South, now as of old, represent the privileges of the landed estate, and in the North, under changed economic conditions, the demands and selfish purposes of the moneyed interests. The position of Senator Sherman of Ohio on the Income Tax clearly demonstrates the great moral and political change in the Senate's evolution above referred to. In 1870, when yet under the spell

of the then expiring great onward movement of democracy, he voted in favor of the Income Tax; in 1894 as the foremost or rather most intellectual representative of Capitalism in the Senate Chamber, he opposed it. The generation of Senators who fought the great battles of freedom left not riches but the glory of their civic virtues and achievements. The Senators of the last generation have amassed fortunes or bought the toga to betray the people.

When luxury and riches had destroyed the manhood, virtue and patriotism of the Senators of Cæsarian Rome, they adored the horse "Caligula" at the despot's bidding. The time is not far distant when the Senate of the United States will worship the golden calf. Already a willing tool of the trusts and of that vulgar and soul-destroying power that paraphrases the despotic expressions of all times in the dictum: "The people be damned," the Senate of the United States should be blotted out before it has the chance to destroy the liberties of the people and to corrupt the nation. Notwithstanding the adopted amendment of the direct election of Senators by the people, the platform of every popular party should close with the democratic demand *delendus est Senatus*.

SECTION VI

Our Judiciary and Lawyers. No civilized people ever submitted to the arbitrary powers of a corrupt judiciary and long preserved their liberties. It is public property that our judicatory, from the highest court to the lowest, is corrupt and that judicial legislation is at the bidding of parties, factions, corporations, and the moneyed interests generally. It is also the sense of the public that ours is a law-ridden country wherein the judiciary has usurped despotic powers and with an immense army of lawyers, out of all proportion to the necessities of the public, has risen not in dignity but in political influence to an exceptional position, in fact to that of a privileged class.

Our laws are in a chaotic condition; they are not codified or generally applicable within the nation. The guiding principles of our law are few and plain but they are overlaid with a mountainous mass of decisions, the arbitrary reference to which makes the administration of justice a curse to the people and destroys within the community that respect for law which is the foundation of all order. In a

democracy, it is an anomaly to authorize a creature of the people's will to interpret the expressions of the same or to set it aside altogether, to exercise through judicial legislation an independent or authoritative power and to clothe almost irresponsible individuals with the despotic power of issuing orders and inhibitions. Our judiciary, federal, state, and local, has grown into an exempt body of invidious distinctions assailing the liberties of the people more strongly, steadily, and insidiously than any other reactionary agency.

The Dred Scott decision in favor of slavery, and the recent attempts of Federal and State Courts to interfere in favor of monopolies with the rights of labor were the product of Constitutional provisions which had their source in the desire of the classes to secure forever judicial protection to their privileges in a possible democracy. The recent usurpations of power growing out of these provisions are to extend and enlarge such judicial protection under the changed conditions in the body politic to newly created particularistic interests in their relation to the dependent masses. Before the War of the Rebellion the slave holders perverted the judicatory into an instrument for the extension and retention of chattel slavery; at present, it seems to be the intention of plutocracy to use through the courts the authority of the people to destroy the liberties of the people, an insidious manner of employing the police and military powers of the government to further private interests and to avoid the appearance of overt and despotic measures and to cover up a fundamental change in the social and political conditions of the generality of the nation. Thus the sanctity of the law is violated; it is prostituted to employ for the suppression of liberty, under one guise or another, the very means thought to be the strongest safeguards to democracy.

It is important that the law should be upheld, that order should prevail, that crime should be punished, but far more important that the law should not be prostituted in the interests of the foes of the people, and, that no arbitrary power should be tolerated in the judiciary. No one who knows the history of the struggles of our people for equality under the law and for the guarantee of individual liberty against despotic power can see it destroyed and infringed without a feeling of resentment. The prostitution of the

ermine and of the law, whether in the interests of individuals, corporations, factions, or parties, does more to destroy order, imperil society and throw the fabric of state into chaos than mob violence and all the rant of fanatics or the vagaries of the rankest rogues of anarchy. History teaches, that whenever the brain and substance of a nation arrive at the conclusion that justice is no longer to be had, a social upheaval is imminent.

When the anarchical forces of the French revolution had exhausted themselves, and the French people were to enter into a new national existence, Napoleon's master mind perceived the imperative necessity of giving to the newly forming society a uniform and codified law. As first consul and as Emperor he pursued this work to its completion. It is to-day the rock on which French society rests and, which more than any other agency, has safeguarded it against the repeated assaults of anarchy and mob aggressions. When the political unification of Germany was an accomplished fact, her statesmen immediately provided the newly welded nation with a uniform and codified law. It is the experience of history, that no nation can long remain in a healthy condition and preserve its morals and energies without uniformity in law and in the administration of justice.

In *ante bellum* days, before we entered into industrialism, we were not a nation but a confederation of States with great diversity of interests, habits, and usages, and were, therefore, not under the economic and social necessity of uniformity in law and of its administration. Being then an agricultural people, the questions of law submitted to the courts throughout the length and breadth of the land were few, chiefly relating to land tenures and to matters which had been well settled during centuries of judicial legislation under a fixed condition of society. Entering into a closer Union, into a national bond which demands uniformity of purpose in economic and social existence, and into the complex conditions of modern civilization, we should have recast the country's judicial legislation into a uniform body, providing for all modern requirements and of such simplicity and conciseness as to harmonize the administration of justice with democracy. Such an undertaking could not affect the liberties of the people, or the sovereignty of the States. It might have affected the perquisites of the army of trickish knaves called lawyers,

parasites of society, who fatten on the misery of the community and are a disgrace to an ancient and honorable profession that generally championed the cause of the people; of politicians who aspire to judicial honors as an easy way to make a living or to amass fortunes; of the vampires in politics and business who thrive in riches and honors by vices or means dark and mysterious; and of the plutocrats who evade responsibilities and duties and profit generally from the babel of confusion in our administration of justice.

Certainly there could be no rashness about it, at a time when every idea and principle of jurisprudence had been expounded and discussed, when advantage could be derived from the most diversified experience, and when the nation could boast of lawyers of the first rank and of unquestionable loyalty and devotion to the people, qualities which apparently are now sadly lacking in the profession. We failed to reduce the law to the form of a statute, and judicial legislation to the narrowest practical limits, and, therefore, we failed to stop the main sources of corruption in the administration of justice and to uphold the majesty of the law. We failed to nationalize it, and, therefore, failed in our duty toward posterity and to our country. We failed to expunge from our laws the traditions, inequalities, archaisms, and cruelty of centuries of class legislation and, therefore, failed in our duty to democracy and obstructed the humane in American society. Considering the fact, deplorable as it is, that by the character of our institutions, by usage and tradition, and for want of a numerous cultured class the lawyers have almost monopolized politics and the functions of the legislature, it became our imperative duty to raise the profession to a higher level in knowledge, ethics, and deportment. Failing in this we are now burdened with a judiciary of low intellect and bad manners only slightly elevated above the moral sense of the pothouse politicians, with pettifogging lawyers of low and vulgar life, of legislators and administrative officers of whom a Mayor of New York City said: "They cheat the people in the daytime, at night they (in gambling) cheat each other." To rid the people of this class of lawyers the law should be free to all, or the privileges and exceptional position which this class now enjoys as officers of courts should be withdrawn and, like every other profession, it should be left under the present condition of society to unrestricted com-

petition that the fittest might survive. The extraordinary position of this profession is not only the source of its own corruption but also largely of that of the community at large, because our institutions and peculiar process of national formation were not favorable to the development of honor in the abstract and, therefore, to that of an *esprit de corps*. Thus license grew into licentious wickedness. The fry of the profession became the underlings of the political bosses and perverters of justice; and the upper strata in the profession the procurers of the trusts and corporations in the halls of justice and legislation. The iniquities of the profession have corrupted the social organism of the American people. Such a cancerous growth must be cut out before it paralyzes the vital forces of democracy.

An English writer in his book, "The Lawyer, Our Old Man of the Sea," says: "England is suffering from the plague of legalism. In the more favorable atmosphere of the United States legalism has become something even more malignant, legalitis." He compares the workings of the legal systems of England and America with that of Germany, saying: "Ours is one with local embellishments; a bar uncontrolled; a jury system abused; form elevated into a fetish; legalism sold at fancy prices. The other is the antithesis of these features. Justice is cheap, certain and expeditious. The consequence is that law has come to be almost synonymous with justice, and it is not overly despised as in America, nor profoundly mistrusted as in this country; it is regarded with a sentiment of sincere respect by the decent elements in the community." In fact we have outstripped the evil outgrowth of England's legal system which, in its abuses, is the outcome of centuries of royal despotism, of an aristocratic society, of land tenures, of isolation, of commercial supremacy, and of an ignorant, vicious proletariat. A wholesome national balance is impossible under the marked ascendancy of the legal caste. The civilized nations of the European continent have found that such an unwholesome condition is prevented by ordaining that the judicial career shall be distinct and separate from the Bar and that lawyers shall not be officers of a Court and be held strictly responsible. They find that by giving the occupants of the Bench a special training in an atmosphere entirely removed from that of the Bar an efficient check is provided against narrow professional aims

and the insidious technicalities which run riot in Anglo-Saxondom. We find that our country with the legal profession predominant in excess of all precedent and the sole maker of laws, is nevertheless a prey to lawlessness and general maladministration which threatens slowly but surely, hardly perceptible at first, to undermine the morals of the nation.

There is a close resemblance between legalism and clericalism. As the worst of all Governments, that which is most fatal to religion, is government by priests, so hardly less, if indeed not quite as bad, is government by lawyers. Legalism is fatal to law, justice and the moral progress of nations. In the United States the question is: "Will legalism be the forerunner of Romanism, of the rule of Popery?"

CHAPTER II

MUNICIPALITIES

SECTION I

The Real Causes of Municipal Misgovernment and Corruption. One of the most dangerous tendencies of current industrial life is the growth of cities as centers of industry. Though in the future, under advanced economic and social conditions, the aggregation of population and the concentration of industries must lead to a higher civilization and insure a more rapid advancement of the human race, in the age of egotism and materialism, the government of cities and their social bearing on the body politic are problems prolific of evil.

That the rapid growth of American cities has been one of the main causes of the decline of American democracy there can be no doubt. The founders of the Union could not foresee Industrial Feudalism and, therefore, could have had no thought of the unprecedented growth of American cities and of their proletarian population. In their seclusion, they paid little attention to the historical development of cities and to the tremendous rôle they were playing in the history of our race. They failed to provide organic laws for their government and channels through which their social influences could act beneficially on the body politic. Consequently our cities have been and are the worst governed municipalities in the civilized world, and their social influences have been misdirected and turned into evil.

When the National government was established, the founders of the Union, partly from necessity, partly moved by class interests, chose the colonies as States as the integrant parts of the Republic, political units of arbitrary conception and quantity that, with the exception of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, had no historical development but were the product of royal favoritism, of international treaties, and of the irregular advances of a pioneer civilization. It is true, that, at the time, local conditions, business

interests, and feelings in one state were unlike those of any other state. They were, however, differences growing out of passing conditions not of a racial or religious character. With the great movement of population across the Alleghanies, with the development of railways, the differences in the character of the population and sentiment of the different States, with the exception of the Slave-cursed section, vanished. With the extinction of slavery the State lines were merely imaginary in most essential respects. Sufficient proof that the founders of the Union erred when they made the doctrine of States' rights the structural foundation of the Republic. So long as we followed agricultural pursuits, the interests of all the people of all the States were virtually the same, and the real dangers hidden in a false doctrine were not revealed. Whenever they are fully uncovered, the Union will pass through another crisis of revolutionary moment.

Of all the relations of the different parts and interests within the Union to each other, and to the nation, there is not one fraught with greater danger than that of the States to the government of large cities and to their metropolitan development. The State being the embodiment of all sovereign power, the cities with their manifold and immense interests unknown a century before, as corporations or creatures of the State, are entirely dependent on the pleasure of the State. Therefore, their governments and revenues were always at the mercy of interests seldom in harmony with their own or those of democracy. The real or imagined necessities of political parties made of the vital interests of the cities footballs of demagogism and of their governments hotbeds of corruption. Such a condition of affairs reacted disastrously and corruptly on the nation. The dependent relation of the cities demoralized the State governments and legislatures and made of the Capitols marts for the sale of franchises and of patronage. It destroyed the effect of moral principles on political parties, it developed bossism as the only purely American political institution, it debauched public life because it permitted the corrupt use of the many offices and large revenues of the cities as spoils wherewith to reward the unworthy and the vicious for their noxious and interested activity in the baser walks of political life.

No amount of intelligence and no amount of energy will

save a nation which is not honest. The progress of civilization has made the cities the arbiters of the destiny of the nation. Their demoralization means the destruction of the nation. The first requisite in our public life, therefore, is the maintenance of public morality and of patriotism in the cities. Their dependent relation has almost made it impossible. Without permanency in municipal structures, complete adhesion of the organic parts is not possible, or, pride of citizenship in the purity, preservation, and enlargement of the structure probable. Surely, it appears to be a waste of energy on the part of patriotic citizens to exert themselves in municipal affairs when their best efforts may be almost immediately neutralized or set at naught by a State election, by the adoption of a new charter, or by combinations of agents of Capitalism and particularistic interests, or of coarse, ignorant bosses, creatures of the gutter, tools of the Romish hierarchy, not seldom graduates in crime, always un-American in character and sentiment.

The political power of these bosses is derived from former bog-dwellers, from the ignorant, brutish, and superstitious Irish rabble, and those of other Roman Catholic countries who blindly obey a priesthood acting under the direction and in the interest of a foreign ecclesiastical power that, so far as American institutions are concerned, cares naught for their weal or woe, but applies its political power to the one purpose of drawing from the United States the largest possible revenues. Wherever the Irish and Italian Romanists are a numerous body of voters, reform of the municipal government is not possible until the political power of the Romish church is broken. It is not to the interest of the wolf that the shepherd should be faithful and his dog watchful. It is not to the interest of the Romish church that the government of our cities should be carried on intelligently and honestly and, that their treasuries should be well guarded. For centuries without political motion, without the internal sense of political morality, without sentiment of public morality, without perception of a higher law and never departing an iota from the authentic formulas of priestcraft and the inherited hatred of the Anglo-Saxon and often even without the sense of common every day honesty, the Catholic or Celtic Irish and the Italians of Naples and Sicily will always be the corrupt element in municipal politics. It matters not, whether they are of the

Tammany Hall stamp or of any other stamp, their loyalty is not to the public but to the Romish church, and their standard of political morality is that of a semi-barbarous people. To preach to such the gospel of morality and efficiency is a waste of time and energy. They have no interest whatever in good municipal government. Anarchical conditions are to their and their priestly masters' advantage.

Wherever the Romish church exercised a controlling influence in municipal politics, in Spain, in Italy and in the South American republics, corruption and mismanagement were the rule. All efforts to reform our municipal governments will fail unless they are directed against priestly interference. It is more than folly, it is crime, to combine with any political body remotely affiliated with the Romish church for the purpose of municipal reform. It is enlisting the devil to drive out the devil.

Another source of the demoralization of our municipal governments, in fact, a first cause of all political immorality in a democracy is the system of indirect taxation. The masses in our large cities are not property owners. Though not in theory, but in practice, they have but a remote interest in honest government. Experience has taught the tenant that rent is not regulated by the tax rate or the real value of the property but by the amount of wages earned and that, almost everywhere and uniformly, one-fourth of it is exacted as rent. That of the storekeeper is regulated by the volume and profit of his business. English traditions and English agrarian law have granted to the property owners in our cities exceptional rights; they are a favored-class exempt from the operation of all laws against usury and commanding the police power of the State and an almost despotic process of court to enforce their demands and to collect their dues in an almost arbitrary manner.

This extraordinary economic condition in the social life of our cities is in their political life a cause and an effect. As a cause, it is the origin and soul of all so-called reform movements whenever a further increase in rent would force the tenant to seek cheaper lodgings. As an effect, it operates against the success of such movements because the tenant has no interest whatever to assist the landlord in lessening his burdens. Indirect taxation and landlordism are to a great extent responsible for the demoralization of

municipal politics and the debauchery of public life in our cities. The fictitious values placed on city property and the avarice of landlords, combined with official corruption, have lowered the moral sense, health and comfort of the poor city dweller and dwarfed his citizenship and responsibility. Let the landlord, to enforce his claims, be placed on an equal, legal footing with every other business man and creditor. Remove his privileges and change the principle of taxation and the ban of landlordism is at once removed from our cities.

Within another generation the cities will be a conglomeration of the abodes of the very poor and of the sybaritical palaces of the very rich; the line of demarcation between the classes and the masses will be sharply drawn; on the surface the metallic ring of soulless wealth, below the rumbling noises of the approaching cataclysm. Therefore, in the future, class prejudices will most strongly operate against all efforts of a purification of municipal politics in the interest of the classes.

It cannot be denied that in our large cities the decline of democracy has kept pace with the growth of capitalism. Asked to take part in a reform movement in New York City one of the Astors cabled from England: "I have no interest in the matter." Corruptly to further their particularistic interests, to escape their just obligations and for purposes of spoliation, the very rich, the corporations and Capitalism generally are directly interested in the demoralization of municipal governments. The testimony given before Investigation Committees and in Courts has revealed a condition of depravity and corruption in the Departments of Police of our large cities almost beyond human belief. Judge Goggin of Chicago, in a most scathing speech delivered from the bench on the corruption of the Department of Police of that city, said: "Our city has been cursed by many unprovoked murders of citizens by policemen. They are privileged murderers. It has got to be so that a policeman cannot be convicted of crime. The life of a dog is more sacred than that of a poor inoffensive citizen. In no city of Europe could this man (pointing to Policeman Cassidy, charged with wantonly killing a citizen) have committed this crime and not be hanged. It was a cold-blooded, brutal, vicious, uncalled-for murder." The Lexow Committee and numerous other Investigation Committees in

other cities uncovered the foulest cesspools that were ever disclosed in the history of communities. In our cities, human depravity is fostered for its putrid usufruct because a pliable, debauched, and imbruted police force, steeped in crime and vice, and recruited from the savage Irish rabble, serves well the anti-social interests of the combines, pools, and trusts, of the corporations and estates. Such a pretorian force overawes at the ballot-box the moral and patriotic part of the community and coerces labor to submit to spoliation.

It is a strange spectacle to see our plutocrats and the Romish hierarchy cordially sustaining each other in the hellish purpose of demoralizing the public life in the great centers of population and industry from which the venom of anarchy flows into every artery of the body politic, putrifying the wounds it has received in the great battle of industrialism and for the survival of the fittest. It is an alarming experience that the rights and privileges of the citizen guaranteed in the constitution are no longer respected. Systematically, and to a purpose, abuses of judicial and police power are encouraged that the common people may get used to despotic measures, that patriotism, and the sense of public responsibility be destroyed to prepare the masses for the yoke of plutocracy. It is a fiction in the poorer parts of our large cities that a man's house is his castle. At any hour of the day and night, it is ruthlessly and unlawfully invaded by the police. Pitt once said that a man's home might be "so humble that the winds would blow through it and the rain enter it, but the King could not." The people who live in squalor or in poverty in our large cities have no longer any rights which plutocracy and the police respect. The guardians of the peace of the people, through the perversion of the law, are now the masters of the common people, an alarming condition confronting the great democracy of the North. Arbitrary arrests, illegal invasions of the home, illogical sumptuary laws, abuses in the administration of justice, and election frauds have robbed the law of its majesty. The anarchical tendencies of Capitalism have set in motion a counter current from below which in the nearest future may sweep law and order from the face of our land. The deliverance of our large cities from the thralldom of Romanism, from public corruption, and from the debauching rule of plutoc-

racy must be left to the moral forces flowing from the ethics of our race and of the Reformation. The cleansing of the Augean stable of municipal politics is but part of the greater task which Providence has imposed on the American people.

SECTION II

Civil Service Reform and Our Universities. So long as American society moved within the narrow intellectual confines of pastoral life and was encompassed by its primitive forms, and the moral sense of the community and all the effects of the nation's soul quickened in moral theology, the Jacksonian principle of rotation in office continued to act as a cause of the growth of democracy and produced an efficient administration of public affairs.

The modern expansion of private and public life and the changed economic and social conditions thereof, the consequent gradual and steady decline of Puritanism, of religious fervor, and the reduction of the moral standard generally divested this principle of its fundamental energy and made our civil service deficient in capacity and destitute of moral force. Rotation in office became a source of corruption, a check to the rational development of the nation's resources, and a drag-chain to its intellectual and ethical progress. It led to public extravagance, put a premium on mediocracy, closed the halls of legislature to the intellectual and cultured elements and forced them out of the management of public affairs and made virulent the national diseases, morbid pride and excessive self-consciousness.

Rotation in office became subversive of the very ends for which it was intended and, therefore, a menace to democracy when Capitalism assumed the control of the political parties and dictated the appointments to office. The democratic spirit, the element of life in the Republic, was gradually eliminated from the administration of public affairs. Consequently, a putrefying process set in, and the leprous infection has spread until the whole nation has been tainted and the great mass of people are almost as devoid of civic pride and public spirit as if they had no political rights whatever.

Under our system of taxation the expenses of government and of all internal improvements are directly or indirectly paid by the democratic masses. To them it is a vital

question, in many ways, that the government should be economically and intelligently administered. Dishonesty and extravagance, and waste through inefficiency, not only reduce the standard of living of the masses but also fasten the hold of International Capitalism on the masses. For instance, when a thousand millions of surplus accumulated by excessive taxation in the National treasury, that International Capitalism might exploit our business community, had been criminally squandered, bonds were issued to continue the infamous system of National Banks and with it and through it the exactions of Capitalism. Offices have been multiplied and salaries have been raised out of all proportion to the services rendered. Armies of political vagabonds, mostly ignorant and vulgar fellows, make up our civil service establishments that like upas trees of immense size, spreading their branches over the entire country, have by their poisonous secretions destroyed the political energy of the people and caused public morals and public life to wither. To the American democracy Civil Service reform, though not of the kind with which of late political parties have hoodwinked the people, is a vital question.

We need a permanent civil service establishment that in its upper branches will embrace the intelligent and cultured of the nation. Our colleges and universities are so far progressed that with the addition of the social sciences to their curriculum they can supply the personnel for the higher offices in every department of the National, State and local governments. With the permanence of the establishment and its social elevation the *esprit de corps* will be educed and honesty, efficiency, and loyalty to democracy secured. Let our universities accept their manifest destiny to realize the perfect democratic commonwealth where the wisest will rule and the leaders will be priests of truth, fearlessly and ceaselessly laboring for the public good. The complex conditions of modern society demand for its direction disciplined and well stocked minds. The saying, "Whomever God endows with office He also endows with sufficient intelligence," has become discredited, and the idea that the so-called self-made men or successful business men are the best qualified to administer the government has been disproved. As a rule they are possessed in an aggravated form of all the bad qualities of the middle

class, lacking also the education, the breadth of thought, and the largeness of soul, in modern times necessary for governmental duties.

A corrupt and inefficient civil service creates chaotic conditions in private and public affairs. True democracy can only live and advance to the Platonic condition in an honestly, scientifically, and orderly conducted community wherein the laws are just and equitable and impartially and fearlessly executed. The removal of the United States Senate, the reorganization, in principle and system, of the administration of justice and of all of our legislative bodies, the reconstruction of our organic laws on a purely democratic basis, the disbandment of the regular army in its present form, civil service reform, the creation of independent municipalities and the guarantee of self-government to counties and towns as the units in our political organism, and the removal of all constitutional courts are some of the political measures which the American democracy, to preserve its very life, is called upon immediately to enact.

CHAPTER III

MORAL AND SOCIAL DEFECTS AND THEIR CAUSES

SECTION I

Materialism and the Decline of Clerical Authority. Changing suddenly from pastoral life to industrialism, plunging from provincialism into the vast and turbulent expanse of modern culture, turning from dogmatic faith into intellectual progress, altogether unprepared in our moral nature and condition to absorb in our social system millions of people of other religions and races, of foreign thoughts and habits, individuals and society in the United States broke loose from the moral bonds which until then had guaranteed an honest administration of public affairs and had infused all private relations with the quality next to humanity, equity.

The great moral lights of Puritan theocracy having been befogged by sensationalism approaching sensualism, American society was wandering guideless in the wilderness of business, of pleasure, and of intrigue. There seemed to be no difference between right and wrong. Riches covered vice and crime with a shining veneer. Anglo-Saxon individualism turned into vulgar and cruel selfishness, the democratic desire to accumulate a competency into an insane desire for riches, into a mad chase for wealth in which every one trampled on the rights of his neighbor. Success sanctioned the means and, in politics and business, was the only standard. Of course, American society was debauched, and the public administration demoralized. The greatest political crimes were perpetrated and then excused with the hypocritical profession of having obeyed a higher law. The theft of the Presidency in 1876, the theft of the legislature of New York in 1892, the Carnegie frauds, and the shameless corruption of Congress passed into history, unpunished: In their wake followed great industrial upheavals when the masses defied law and order, imitating the lawless examples set by their superiors in intellect and position. Corporations, trusts and monopolies defied the

law, avoided its penalties, and sneered at its impotency, giving the greatest impetus to anarchy and lawlessness. While money was made king and god, everything else was permitted to drift, the worst elements ruled, and party machines supplanted serious political conviction. Under such immoral conditions society could not develop honor in the abstract and replace moral theology with moral philosophy as the spiritual force in private and public life. Therefore, we were and are now drifting on the sea of materialism without compass and rudder. The apathy of despair has seized the cultured and the patriot. Steadily American democracy has declined and a terrible dénouement appears inevitable.

Moving fluids seek a level. So do the affections and passions of man. The builder of a dam for the collection of a large body of water carefully constructs an outlet that flowage shall not wash the foundation. He also provides marginal strength for freshets, but he cannot guard against the hidden forces of nature. A flood of extraordinary volume or a light concussion of the earth will destroy his structure. Then the dammed up water will rush forth in a foaming and roaring mass, destroying the works of man and of nature, cutting out with irresistible force its course to the level.

For two centuries the intellectual energies and passions of the American people in the North had been artificially restrained by Puritanism. The rigid order of the principles of its construction excluded the construction of outlets for the excess of animal spirit or of safety valves for the effervescence of the intellect. Within these lines of separation from the culture of the world mosaic traditions and law regulated all the functions of the intellect and repressed the emotions with the spirit of mosaic intolerance and gloom. In such a society there could be no incentives to individual efforts to reach a higher nature. The intellect moved within fixed limits, the affections of heart and soul were stifled, and under these abnormal conditions of society ossification set in, and the body politic became rigid. The sense of justice, and of right and wrong, was dimmed because society was reduced to the plane of mere legality, which is selfishness, and could not rise to the sphere of morals where the solidarity of the community and the general well being outweigh the partial good of the individual.

While Puritanism impressed on man the sacred duties of man to God and dwelled on the rights of man, it failed to enlarge on the higher duties of man to the community and to teach him that his private welfare depends upon the general well being, and that he best serves himself who serves his fellows best. Puritanism developed an extreme individualism as to material matters exclusively because man in his conscience was only responsible to God and the sum total of his duties and obligations to man and society was incorporated in the mosaic law, which demands eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and, therefore, excludes the humane, the only foundation of a society at once just and enlightened. The only protection society had against the selfishness of man and his passions was obedience to the mosaic law, in which the fundamental element in the humane, the religious sense apprehending a higher duty to man and society, love, is wanting.

Puritan society, therefore, could not develop honor in the abstract which is the practical application of this religious sense to every day life. The one virtue was wanting which above all others is necessary for the conduct of modern society and to invest its government with a system of rules equitable in action and in harmony with the ethics of Christianity. When science set the soul of men free from mosaic tradition the stagnate mass of intellectual and animal energies was set in motion and the flowage washed the foundation of the dam. The immigration of the German revolutionists increased the emotion to turbulency. Finally, the movement against slavery, by its combined intellectual and emotional forces, undermined the foundation of the structure because it assailed an institution which for centuries had been defended as of mosaic origin and of divine sanction.

During the second political period of Puritanism, which commenced with the anti-slavery agitation and closed with the War of the Rebellion, Puritan theocracy was forced to ally itself with the liberal spirit begotten by science. Until then, the Puritan clergy had been the keeper of the conscience of the Northern people and their educators. When the spirit of scientific research reached our shore, when the Holy Ghost spoke in modern accents, our clergy were not prepared to lend to the old oracles new voices. They closed their eyes to the new light; they failed to apprehend

the new phenomenon as the culmination of the Reformation, the greatest task the human spirit has yet achieved. In the seclusion of provincialism and with an imperfectly developed spiritual nature they mistook the luminous orb rising on our horizon for the false sun of skepticism of the eighteenth century. Completely immersed in dogmatic faith and immobile in mind and soul, under the austere discipline of the mosaic law, the Puritan clergy failed to perceive that God's work is only dark for want of light and that after a long period of darkness the light had risen from the embers of the Reformation which for centuries had been lying in the German universities smouldering amid the ashes of the men who in that great epoch of spiritual life were the wonder and example of their fellows.

Our ministers lived in the past when the new light appeared to us; they did not comprehend its qualities and erred as to its intensity and, therefore, were not qualified to transmit it through the proper lens to the people. Our ministry, as before, was terrible in its earnestness and in its denunciation of sin but unable to direct under the new spiritual conditions the intellectual life of the people and consequently were gradually deposed as the wardens of private and public morals.

Unfortunately for the future of the American people, the transitional period in our religious and intellectual life was too short for a sufficient growth of the learned estate to qualify and empower it for the mentorship of the people and for the construction of the outlets and channels, through which the pent-up energies and passions of the people could take their proper course before the upheaval occurred which leveled the doctrinal and social structure of Puritan theocracy.

The War of the Rebellion set free the dammed up energies of the people. In a mighty wave they rolled southward. They swept slavery from the land and leveled the social fabric reared thereon. The war also let loose the passions so long pent up by moral theology and hidden under the mask of Puritan austerity. Heightened by the furies of war and freed from all restraint during a long period of social revolution the passions of man overpowered the commonwealth and set the Northern democracy running mad after riches and pleasure. Human nature, if left alone, always wise and frugal, had for centuries been confined in the Puri-

tan strait-jacket and twisted into all shapes and forms to suit the prejudices and narrow conformity of legislators and ministers who, as the Quaker George Bishop expressed it in 1703, "shuffled and endeavored to evade the guilt of intolerance and bigotry, being ashamed to own it." Suddenly freed from the fetters of orthodoxy, human nature committed every extravagance and bounded from extreme to extreme.

After the war the ministers vainly attempted to regain their authoritative position in American society. Industrialism, the rapid growth of cities, the large volume of the immigration, the ever extending exchange of ideas with Europe, the increase in wealth, and the persistent refusal on the part of the clergy to recognize the changed conditions in the intellectual and social life of the people were the principal agencies which made all clerical efforts futile.

During the great financial crisis which had its moral effects on the people an authoritative position might have been partly regained but for the "Beecher trial," which affected American society more deeply than the "Neckless-scandal" that of France in the eighteenth century. Thenceforward, clerical influence has steadily receded, and intellectually and socially society has drifted towards anarchism. The relations of clergy and people at present are permeated by a sickly sentimentalism encroached upon by mercenary considerations, almost helpless indigence on the one side, indifference and often arrogant assumption on the other.

The fact is, the Church has ceased to be in touch with the people. A clergy that does not participate in the common activities of the world cannot labor intelligently or exercise any influence in a society which is struggling onward under a new light entirely different from that which guided the Church fathers of the Middle Ages. The conservative element within the nation, unable to fathom the depth and to measure the velocity of the new spiritual current, attempted to stem it with "isms" of many kinds, with the enforcement of obsolete laws of the glacial period of Puritanism, with a revival of Knownothingism and by a general persecution of every thought and innovation which intolerance and a dwarfed intellect conceived to be of destructive tendency. It was the last struggle of a dying cause which had fulfilled its mission.

All these counter-movements were relics of the sterile,

forbidding, unproductive period of Puritanism, of its ice-age from which they had drifted until now they have reached the Gulf Stream of modern culture. The defenders and advocates of the past could not perceive that scientific research and modern culture, flowing westward to our shores, were to save American society from the fate of other lands, as of Spain, from the consequences of superstition, prejudice, and narrow conformity, and that another century of seclusion from the world's progress and culture would have caused American society to develop in an abnormal condition and might have made of the American people a nation in many traits similar to the Jews who, through clanishness and environments, were for more than 2000 years intellectually and socially separated from the civilization of the rest of the world.

SECTION II

The Social Results of the Florescent Period of Puritanism. The War of the Rebellion interrupted the florescent period of Puritanism. It cannot strictly be called a scientific period because science can secure no lasting foothold in a cultured community as yet under the influence of superstition and prejudice and encompassed with a public opinion drawing its inspiration from ancient lore.

The florescent period of Puritanism would eventually have brought forth conditions which we find to-day in the world of Judaism: the masses remaining superstitious and in conformity with mosaic law while the emancipated or educated are gradually drifting away from their people into intellectual anarchism without consciousness of self or of a community to be guided and preserved.

The history of the men most prominent during the florescent period of Puritanism and of those drawing inspiration therefrom proves conclusively that it was not a scientific period but rather one of sentiments, relies of the transcendental period in politics. Most of these minds lost themselves in an aimless rationalism and in the end became cranks, while others, the most gifted of the circle, became reactionists of the most contemptible kind, lastly finding a resting place in Jesuitism. To these people must be credited much of the fantastical legislation for the amelioration of mankind. The notion of every crank and the evaporations of every hysterical woman were considered the

outpourings of philosophical minds and were forthwith enacted into statutes until the cause of humanity was buried under a heap of rubbish.

In many cases the people parted with their sovereignty to entrust all kinds of societies with the execution of laws for carrying out the vagaries of only partially disciplined minds, to serve a sickly sentimentality, or the desire for notoriety of so-called humanitarians who in truth were as a rule selfish and hypocritical fellows. Thus we were made the laughing stock of the civilized world that, by degrees, was forced to consider the American Republic a bedlam, where in the conduct of affairs crass ignorance and confusion of ideas prevailed.

The rule of science is only possible in a community in which at least one generation has received an education based on scientific principles and where public opinion, free from all superstition and prejudice, has its source in the ethics of the Reformation. The florescent period of Puritanism left no token of a covenant with science but a confusion of ideas and a few choice spirits now serving in the synagogue of the devil. It failed to influence public education and, therefore, failed to impress public life with its character.

SECTION III

The School and the Family—the Safeguards and Nutriment of Democracy. Our system of public education is far behind the requirements of modern times. Ignorance, prejudice, or provincialism of the narrowest kind will alone dispute the fact. With a very few local exceptions, it is not based on scientific principles, it does not develop the mind of the pupil, or the affections of heart or soul.

In the first stages of education, when mind and character ought to be properly developed, the pupil is under the intellectual and ethical direction of very young and inexperienced women hardly qualified as teachers, certainly not as educators. As moral teachings we impress mechanically on the child's memory a certain quantity of dogmatic lore. We do not plant into its heart and soul the ethics of Christianity, of the Reformation, and of its race. Leaving school, the child possesses a superficial knowledge, often more harmful than good, and not the moral sustenance of

life to qualify it for civic duties and for the exercise of the amenities of life.

Our legislators adopted laws restricting the authority of the parent and teacher. Rationalism turned into madness when it assailed the very foundation of Teutonic or Christian civilization, the autonomy of the family and in and with parental authority the authority of the State in its first application to the child's mind. Our children are, therefore, growing up without moral guidance and without fixed principles. Generations have been drifting into brutishness until it has grown into a national vice, suppressing the humane in private and public life. A people who suffer corruption and brutality to enter their charitable institutions and who pay homage to a pugilist and extol his acts as national virtues must be far removed from the humane. A system of education which has not for its objective point the intellectual and moral autonomy of the scholar can never produce citizens fitted for the privileges and duties of a democracy. Nor can universities which do not turn out men of broad general culture, free from every taint of superstition, prejudice, and brutishness, furnish the leaders and master minds in a democratic community which has outgrown the fables of mosaic tradition.

Of all failures properly to apply the extraordinary blessings which Providence bestowed on us, the greatest and probably the one most disastrous to our economic and political future is that we did not develop a system of education the highest in all appointments and conceived in the eternal spirit. We might then have developed the divinity latent in the child's soul and, instead of a narrow provincialism, an American ideal, universal humanity. This must be our goal, that the American democracy may live and prosper and perform the part assigned to her by Providence.

Teutonic civilization is rooted in the family. So is true or modern democracy. They are one and inseparable because the family is the unit in each. Therefore, the destruction of the family means the destruction of society, or anarchy. Within a generation our cranks and ignorant lawmakers have done all in their power to loosen the family ties. They have restricted the authority of the father and husband until his social position is merely that of the breadwinner. Irresponsible societies of cranks and sensational-

ists have been clothed with the authority of the people to destroy the very foundation of our civilization and of democracy: the sense of responsibility attached to the family and therewith, in the individual, the moral sense of subordination to the community of which the family is the responsible part. Our lawmakers have cut deeply into the sacred ties of love, duty, and allegiance between husband and wife when they interposed in their relations the principle of legal severality in person and estate. Where there are separate rights, responsibility is divided, unity of purpose cannot exist, or moral interdependence prevail, consequently there can be no complete trust in each other which is the source of harmony and self-sacrifice in married life. Should the agitation of the woman suffrage question ever lead to the general political emancipation of woman, American society would be threatened with disintegration and American democracy with decay and death because the family ties would be disrupted and the binding element in Teutonic civilization destroyed. It would soon appear that the political emancipation of woman and the downfall of democracy stand in the relation of cause and effect.

SECTION IV

The Handwriting on the Wall. Unfortunately in the years of our prosperity no second Joseph advised us of a coming change in our economic and social conditions and counselled the measures to prevent misery and misfortunes. The storehouses of nature are nearly exhausted. No longer will we be able to nourish our democratic body so that by indulgence and pleasure the mental and physical ills may be forgotten.

There are many forebodings of a steady retrogression in national prosperity. We have wasted the gifts of nature. Now we must bear the punishment or quickly and unreservedly change the artificial evils besetting our social organism into the blessings which Providence intended for us. The truth is that the misfortunes which now are falling upon us are blessings in disguise. We needed a shock; we needed to be reminded of our duty, of what American democracy has been, is now, and should be. If we profit by the lesson which nature with punitive and yet benign hand teaches us, the shock, rude as it is, may prove our

salvation, and cause the deliverance of the American democracy.

Through suffering we may yet enter without external violence and disorder into a higher state of civilization, into an era of gradual progression, into a new social order in which humanity will replace materialism, that we may fulfill the mission with which Providence charged us in the land of plenty. But it seems decreed that like Israel we shall have to wander in the desert until we destroy the golden calf and cease to worship Baal.

That empire must decline

Whose chief supports and sinews are but coin.

PART V

PAPAL SOVEREIGNTY IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE CHARACTER AND GROWTH OF THE ROMAN ESTABLISHMENT

SECTION I

The Roman Question a Political Question of Racial Complexion. The history of the Christian nations of Europe during the period of Papal supremacy teaches that to compromise with Papism is not possible; that it is an institution hostile to Teutonic civilization and therefore to democracy.

Romanism has gained a firm foothold on American soil and thereon has enlarged, in an aggressive and defiant spirit, into a State within a State, forgetting its province in an Anglo-Saxon and democratic community and threatening the stability of American institutions. The question arises, what shall be the policy of the American democracy towards the Papacy and its adherents.

The Seven-Years' War destroyed the French Empire in North America, and the peace of "Ruppertsburg" dedicated it to Teutonic civilization, that is to Protestantism. During the race-struggle on the North American continent, the Protestant settlers of the North, much to the surprise and chagrin of the English government, had captured "Louisburg" and through this heroic act were, then and there, anticipating the historical verdict of the peace of "Ruppertsburg." It was then the sense of the Thirteen Colonies as it was, later on, the sense of the Minute men who raised the first flag of Independence inscribed "No Popery" that the North American continent should be the home of Teutonic civilization, that Latin civilization should not gain a permanent foothold thereon and that America should be ruled by Americans and not by a foreign prince, ecclesiastical or temporal. God showed his beneficence

toward America by not permitting Latin civilization to gain a strong foothold here until the Teutonic civilization was firmly established. The splendid organization of American democracy and the unparalleled development of the material resources of the country testify to the blessings of freedom from superstition and foreign rule and to the great moral energy of the prevailing forces, which were Saxon or Teutonic—not Latin.

Therefore, in reverence to the past, in justice to the future, and in all reason the conclusion must be that the United States, in the future as in the past, shall remain exclusively under the influences of Teutonic civilization and that all agencies hostile to it must be either suppressed or kept within reasonable bounds. Consequently, whenever Teutonic civilization is assailed by religious and political agencies, their treatment by democracy ceases to be a question of mere tolerance or intolerance and becomes, at once, of the most vital import to her very existence.

In a crisis for the life of a nation, whether spiritual or material, the guiding principle must be drawn from the history of the nation, from the ethics of the race. For instance, had the Puritans of Massachusetts placed their government on the basis of tolerance to all sorts of consciences and submitted to the aggressions of the crown or any other foreign agency, the American republic would never have been born. They kept the commonwealth uncontaminated and in a compact condition encompassed by the traditions of their race and, so far as they found expression in their creed, by its ethics. Thus they established successfully their civilization and the Reformation. As bigots they triumphed, as jelly fishes they would have succumbed.

Meanwhile the world has progressed, circumstances have changed. What then was a matter of stern discipline, of persecution, and even of the executioner's province is now a matter of education and of the proper exercise or rather restriction of the franchise. In fact, to-day, the most powerful agency for the preservation of Teutonic civilization on American soil is Protestantism and democracy, strong and undefiled, always aggressive and progressive.

The Romish question in the United States is not a religious question. Though Romanism has ceased to be a harbinger of the ethics of Christianity its status as a

religious community, in a republic granting the right of free worship to all religions and tolerating all kinds of opinions, cannot be assailed—*except for treasonable practices.*

The Romish question in the United States is a political question of racial complexion. It is a question whether Americans shall continue to rule America or whether a church-head resident beyond the sea, and a dependent hierarchy, in its personnel mostly foreign to our race, shall assume the control of our affairs.

It is a question whether Teutonic civilization shall be supplanted by Latin civilization and whether the Pope, driven from Europe, shall establish within the United States another ecclesiastical State, another stronghold of superstition and priestly domain.

It is a question whether the Roman camarilla shall acquire, hold, and use property without limit as it did in England before the statutes of mortmain were enacted. Blackstone says that, but for these statutes, ecclesiastical corporations would soon have engulfed the whole real estate of England. With all these precautions confiscation was necessary to insure the prosperity of the realm.

It is a question whether the masses shall fall back into idolatry, superstition, ignorance, and misery, when anarchy will supersede law and order and our blessed country will share the fate of Spain.

It is a question whether civil strife, religious persecution, and the iniquities of the inquisition shall replace the orderly advance in ideas and ideals of the great American democracy, toward the Church universal and the realization of the essence of life, love, freedom, duty.

These questions were made the burden of solemn conjurations and prophecies by Washington, Lafayette and Grant. The first said: "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence—I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens—the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most harmful foes of republican government."

General Lafayette from Roman Catholic France, speaking of the future of the young American republic which he helped to establish, said: "If the liberties of America are destroyed, it will be by the priests and nuns."

General Grant said: "If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon, but it will be between patriotism and intelligence on one side and superstition, ambition, and ignorance, on the other. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."

SECTION II

The Papal Army and Papal Power. Already a State within the State has been built up: a State with an autocratic form of government. Its officers are appointed by a foreign ruler. They hold office at his pleasure. This autocratic ruler, the Pope, claims both spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over sixteen millions of our people, that is, he demands from them—bishop, priest, and layman—absolute obedience in all matters spiritual and temporal. The dogma of the infallibility and the constitution of the Catholic Church in this country enforce such obedience.

The Sovereign Pontiff as the ruler of this State within the State exercises a more unrestrained authority in this country than he does in the Catholic countries of Europe, where, by the stipulations of concordats, he is deprived of the power to nominate bishops. The bishops of this country may, therefore, be said to be more directly the representatives of the Vatican than the bishops in any other jurisdiction. In other words, they are the pro-consuls of the *Pontifex Maximus*. The Papal authority is unrestricted, because the bishops, according to the laws of the Catholic Church in this country, are responsible for the administration of their diocese, not to those whom they are charged to govern or to the worldly authorities, but to the sovereign Pontiff, and to those to whom he delegates his authority. The property owned by said State within the State is held in fee simple by the bishops. Therefore, it is held and owned by the Pope, the autocratic ruler of said state. He may draw the revenues from this property, or he may order its sale and pocket the proceeds. In fact, to-day, the Sovereign Pontiff is the largest landowner in the United States and his State, within them, is an Asiatic despotism. Let us hear what Catholic authorities in the United States and other dignitaries of the Catholic Church said on this matter. Monsignor Preston, a converted American minister and Vicar-General of the Arch-diocese of

New York, in a sermon preached to his congregation shortly before an election, said:

"Every word Leo speaks from his chair is the voice of the Holy Ghost, and must be obeyed. To every Catholic heart comes no thought but obedience. It is said that politics is not within the province of the Church, and that the Church has only jurisdiction in matters of faith. You say, 'I will receive my faith from the Pontiff, but I will not receive my politics from him.' This assertion is disloyal and untruthful. . . . *You must not think as you choose, you must think as Catholics. The man who says, 'I will take my faith from Peter, but I will not take my politics from Peter,' is not a true Catholic.* The Church teaches us that the Supreme Pontiff must be obeyed, because he is the Vicar of the Lord; Christ speaks through him."

Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, O., in a Lenten letter, said: "Nationalities must be subordinate to religion, and we must learn that we are Catholics first and American citizens next. God is above men, and the Church above the State."

In a work prepared by the Rev. F. I. Schuppe for Roman Catholic schools and colleges, bearing the imprimatur of Cardinal Manning, and used extensively in American Catholic schools and colleges, we read, page 278: "*The civil laws are binding on the conscience only so long as they are conformable to the rights of the Catholic Church.*"

Dr. O. A. Brownson, one of the highest Roman Catholic authorities in America, says: "*Protestantism of every form has not and can never have any right where Catholicism is triumphant.*"

In the "Pontificale Romanum" is the Bishop's oath, in which occur these words: "Heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our said Lord or His successors I will, to my utmost, persecute (persequar), and oppose."

In a work on the policy of the Vatican, for which the author, "M. Louis Venillot," a distinguished French dogmatic writer, received the special benediction of the Pope, it is stated: "*When there is a Protestant majority we claim religious liberty because such is their principle, but when we are in the majority we refuse it, because that is ours.*"

Pius IX, on December 8, 1864, published an Encyclical Letter, condemning as errors eighty of the leading and ruling principles of modern civilization. The statements

and condemnations contained in this Letter are a part of the Catholic faith and must be obeyed and carried into effect by every good Catholic as the truths and orders of God's vicar. We quote the statements having reference to the relations of the Roman Catholic Church to the civil authorities and to republican institutions, but while in the Encyclical the principles condemned are stated negatively we shall state them in positive form, since that will serve to more clearly set forth the doctrine of the Roman Church. The contentions of Rome, affirmatively stated, are:

(39) The people are not the source of civil power.

(19) The Roman Catholic Church has a right to exercise its authority, without having any limits set to it by the civil power.

(24) The Roman Catholic Church has the right to avail itself of force, and to use the temporal power for that purpose.

(26) The Roman Catholic Church has an innate and legitimate right to acquire, hold, and use property without limit free from all taxation.

(27) The Pope and the priests ought to have dominion over temporal affairs.

(30) The Roman Catholic Church and her ecclesiastics have a right to immunity from civil law.

(31) The Roman Catholic clergy should be tried for civil and criminal offenses only in ecclesiastical courts.

(42) In case of conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil powers, the ecclesiastical power ought to prevail.

(53) The civil power has no right to assist persons to regain their freedom who have once adopted a religious life; that is become priests, monks or nuns.

(54) The civil power is inferior and subordinate to the ecclesiastical power, and in litigated questions of jurisdiction must yield to it.

(55) Church and State should be united.

(78) The Roman Catholic religion should be the only religion of the State, and all other modes of worship should be excluded.

(45) The Roman Church has the right to interfere in the discipline of the public schools, and in the arrangement of the studies of the public schools, and in the choice of the teachers for these schools.

(47) Public schools open to all children for the educa-

tion of the young should be under the control of the Roman Church, and should not be subject to the civil power, nor made to conform to the opinions of the age.

(48) While teaching primarily the knowledge of natural things, the public schools must not be separated from the faith and power of the Roman Church.

In his Encyclical on American affairs, dated January 5, 1895, Leo XIII, confirms the position of Pius IX on all these points, claiming such authority "not by an adventitious but an inherent right."

SECTION III

The Papal Invasion and Usurpation of Sovereignty. Every article of faith set forth in the Encyclical Letter of Pius IX and every declaration of the Romish authorities of modern times is in direct opposition to the principles on which the great American Republic is reared. These articles and doctrines are now, as they were six hundred years ago, hostile to Teutonic civilization which is the foundation of our democratic institutions, the very life-blood of our body politic. A religious system which thus contravenes the first principles of our political system is a standing menace to the republic.

This religious system embraces within the jurisdiction of the United States about three and one-half million voters, principally of the Latin and Celtic races. It embraces the most ignorant, the most superstitious, and the most brutish of our population. They are organized for defensive and offensive purposes under a leadership absolutely dependent on a foreign power and slavishly submissive to it, sworn to persecute all fellow citizens of another faith, and to promote, first of all, the policy of an ecclesiastical court with interests of an international character, the very existence of which demands the destruction of Teutonic civilization and of religious systems and of every political organism evolved therefrom. This element of our population is blindly under the despotic leadership of a religious-political order which has been the curse of Christendom and assails humanity with the motto: "the end justifies the means."

War is a forcible interference with the affairs of a nation either for the aggrandizement of the assailing parties or for the enforcement of changes in the national life of the

party assailed. It has always been held that every interference with the internal affairs of a nation is a good and valid cause for a declaration of war and for patriotism to exert itself in the defense of the nation's property and institutions. Whether such interference is by armed forces or by armies of voters matters not, the principle is one of hostile intervention.

In a democracy, the stability of all institutions essential to freedom and to the peace and prosperity of the people depends on the maintenance of the principle that the people are the source of all civil power and on the free and unrestricted exercise of the franchise. Whoever, therefore, denies this principle and attempts to control the franchise in contradiction of this principle, or exercises the franchise in the interest of any power or person denying this principle, commits an act of treason, and any foreign person or power sanctioning or instigating such interference with the fundamental principles of our democratic government, and the perversion of the franchise, commits an act of war. Such were the views of the Father of our country, of Jefferson, of Jackson, of Lincoln, of every administration loyal to democracy; they were quickly and emphatically enforced when the British resident-minister, Mr. Sackville-West, for a mere indiscretion in this direction was very summarily furnished with his passport.

Now, what are the relations of the Romish Church to the great American Republic? The Pope and his bishops in this country deny that the people are the source of all civil power. They maintain that the infallible Pontiff as the vicar of Christ is the source of all civil power; that the people are not the sovereigns and are only entitled to so much power, spiritual and temporal, as the Pontiff chooses to grant. In other words, the Pontiff arrogates to himself all the powers of government, both spiritual and temporal, and consequently the right to use force, directly or indirectly, to get possession of the powers of government. Such is the logic of his assumed position as the infallible representative of the Deity or rather as the incarnation thereof.

Through his officers, the bishops and priests, the Pontiff admonishes and orders the Roman Catholic voters of our republic to exercise the franchise in violation of and against the fundamental principles of our government in the interest of a foreign government which claims suprem-

acy over all the governments of the earth and intends to displace our institutions by stratagem and to substitute its own clerical despotism. Through his officers, bishops, and priests, the Pontiff incites the native born Roman Catholic voters of our republic to rebellion, to disobedience to the laws of the country and to disloyalty when he demands from them to take their politics from him and to vote as he directs. He demands from all naturalized Roman Catholic citizens obedience to the canon law: "No oaths are to be kept if they are against the interests of the Church of Rome; they are not to be called oaths, but perjuries," and, therefore, commands perjury and the violation of the oath of allegiance to the republic. In all these commands and demands the Pontiff commits acts of war. The Romish bishops and priests in this country are the emissaries of a foreign power in actual war with the republic. All Roman Catholic voters loyal to the Pontiff, in a legal sense, are traitors to the republic and as such have forfeited all rights and privileges of citizenship and should lose their sovereignty. It is only a matter of opportunity and of time when they will be traitors *de facto*.

Dealing with Romanism the American democracy meets a foreign power having gained a lodgment on American soil, a power hostile to our civilization, to our religion, and to democratic institutions. In fact, the American democracy is called upon to repel a hostile invasion and a rebellion much more formidable and dangerous to the Union than that of the slavocracy has been. The establishment of a Papal vice-regency at Washington was the first act of a drama of war between Romanism and Latinism on the one side and Protestantism and Americanism or Teutonism on the other; it was the first move by Leo XIII to realize the wonderful scheme of saving the Papacy by transplanting it to the United States and to supplant their democratic government, should the opportunity offer, with that of Romish theocracy.

Public war is the condition now existing between the American democracy and the Papacy. Morally and politically such must be our standpoint in the treatment of the Romish question. There is no compromise possible. It is a fight to the finish. It is either surrender to a foreign power and the substitution of another civilization or the suppression of the treasonable elements in the organism

of the republic and the permanent exclusion of Papal influences.

SECTION IV

The Legal Status of the Roman Church. When the government of the United States was organized the Roman Catholic Church had no legal status. On the contrary, Romanism was distinctly and specifically outlawed as a political institution under the government of a foreign temporal ruler.

The newly formed body politic was exclusively Teutonic in its organization and excluded the principles of a government of divine origin and, therefore, of personal government. Consequently, the act of religious toleration in the Constitution could not be interpreted as a recognition of the right claimed by any head of a religious body to control the political conscience of any person or body of men owing allegiance to the United States. Considering the ethical and political character of the constitutional assemblage which framed said act, and applying to it the well established principle that the interpretation of every law and of every constitutional proviso must be made in accordance with the intent of the framers, toleration as expressed in the Constitution could not even cover a spiritual control, by any ecclesiastical head of a church, not a citizen of the United States but a foreign ruler. By the force of logic, toleration could not be granted to a religious body, the head of which, though even a citizen and native of the United States, claims political privileges or political supremacy over the constitutionally organized government of the United States or any part thereof.

Whoever, therefore, accepted the hospitality of the people of the United States and the gift of citizenship, accepted these conclusions and all the conditions of residence and citizenship resulting therefrom. The oath of allegiance to the United States, exacted from every applicant for citizenship, also clearly states or implies these principles. Within the territories acquired by treaty from Catholic powers the legal status of the Romish Church is not exceptional. It is a well recognized principle of international law that every population annexed must merge in all their customs and in their faith, if necessary, into the civilization of the larger body. Moreover, the peoples so annexed were by

the acts of secession completely denationalized and ceased, as expressly stipulated in the respective treaties, to be subject to any foreign power or influence. Within the territories annexed by war, of course, all rights and privileges, spiritual or temporal, ceased with the act of annexation, and by virtue of conquest. The legal status of every American citizen, by birth or adoption, is therefore one of absolute spiritual and temporal dependence on the institutions of the Republic and on its civilization, and, consequently, on the majority decision of the people. From these conclusions it appears that every citizen of the United States believing the dogma of the infallibility, has ceased, morally and legally, to be a citizen of the American republic and to be loyal to it.

SECTION V

The History of the Roman Establishment. Thoroughly to understand the danger arising from the Papal invasion it is necessary to study the history of the Roman Church in the United States. It is by the light of the Church's past that we must read the future.

When the Catholic priests, who landed with Columbus, planted the first cross on American soil as the representative of the Latin race and of Latin civilization, Romanism gained a foothold on this continent. Here, as in the old world, with the passage of time everything has changed, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church. Its organization, principles, doctrines, teachings, and procedure, its forms and structure are precisely the same to-day as they were when Columbus first landed.

In the United States, as a political issue, Romanism dates from 1789 when Pope Pius VI issued the bull creating the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States and appointed the Rev. John Carroll the first bishop of Baltimore. It was the first act of usurpation of sovereignty by the Papacy within the United States. The entire population of the United States was then little less than 4,000,000, free men and slaves included. The Roman Catholic population was estimated at about 40,000 or one of every thousand inhabitants. Romanism was then a delicate exotic plant, nursed by a small band of 30 priests, almost exclusively belonging to the society of Jesus.

Thanks to the liberty the Roman Catholic Church has

enjoyed it has more than kept pace with the material development of the country. In 1895, a century later, the Catholic population of the United States numbered about ten millions, or one of every seven inhabitants. There were 17 archbishops, 75 bishops, 10,053 priests, 14,503 churches and chapels, 9 universities, 28 seminaries for secular students, with 2129 students, 77 seminaries of the religious orders as the Jesuits, etc., with 1474 students, 182 high schools for boys, 609 high schools for girls, 3731 parochial schools with 775,070 pupils, 239 orphan asylums with 30,867 children, 821 charitable institutions and hundreds of monasteries sheltering thousands of monks and nuns. The total number of children in Catholic institutions was then 918,207. The money value of the Catholic Church edifices was returned at \$118,000,000 while the property held by the bishops in fee simple as vicars of the Pope was estimated at two thousand millions, though competent judges point to these figures as far below the market value of the real property of the Romish Church in the United States.

When the government of the United States was organized the Catholic Church had only a foothold in Maryland. Catholics had enjoyed toleration in New York for about a quarter of a century under the grant of the New Netherlands by Charles II to the Catholic Duke of York. Under Governor Dongan, who was a Catholic, a Catholic chapel and a Latin school were established in the City of New York by three Jesuit priests. The revolution of 1688 put an end to the toleration of Catholics in the Colony of New York and in 1696 there were only nine left in the City of New York. Penal laws against them were enacted in New York Colony in 1700 and for more than three-quarters of a century the few Catholics remaining in the Province were without a place of worship. The New York convention in 1777 established conditions which virtually excluded Catholics from citizenship. In other states their legal status was the same. Only in 1806 the rigorous naturalization oath required of Catholics was abrogated and in the same year Mayor Clinton of New York made the dangerous decision in a criminal case that Catholic priests are protected from revealing the secrets of the confessional in court.

CHAPTER II

THE ANTI-CATHOLIC MOVEMENT

SECTION I

Measures to Repel the Papal Invasion. Dealing with Romanism the American people are called upon to solve a political question which has disturbed the nations of Europe for six hundred years; a question which involves in its solution the very existence of the republic. Its early and final solution is demanded that the dangers of religious strife and of its inevitable effect in a democracy, religious war, the most deplorable of all events in the life of a nation may be averted. The American people should profit by the lessons of history and assume the offensive before the enemy has time to undermine our strongholds, and to mass his forces at strategical points and in menacing numbers within offensive lines. These strategical points are the great cities, certain states, the army and navy, and the civil service. In a state of war half measures, indecision, and every indulgence in doctrinal arguments insure defeat. Aggressions of the most determined and destructive kind alone insure victory.

The enemy commands a compact and superior organization, a large army of ignorant, superstitious, but faithful voters, and an extraordinary ability to acquire property and to gather riches. These forces are marshalled against the American democracy at a time of its rapid decline caused by economic changes and amidst the gloom of a generally disorganized condition of society.

To remove those elements of strength, canon law should not be recognized in our courts, and the regulations of the relations of bishop, priest, and layman to each other and to their congregations and of the civil status of the priest should be left to the common law; statutes of mortmain should be enacted by which all church property of whatever character, places of actual worship alone excepted, must be sequestered by the State for general educational purposes. The acquisition of property of every kind by

ecclesiastical bodies should be absolutely forbidden. All charitable institutions should be made government institutions and their property should also be sequestered by the State and held as a separate fund for the maintenance of public hospitals; all decrees and orders issued by any citizen or alien residing in the United States or elsewhere not recognized by the laws of the United States as a properly constituted authority, or by any person representing any foreign government, State, organization, or person, ecclesiastical or otherwise, claiming allegiance, loyalty, or obedience in matters spiritual or temporal, should be made legally ineffective, and the proclamation or publication of such decrees or orders should be made punishable as an offense against the dignity, peace and welfare of the people of the United States; all persons owing allegiance, spiritual or otherwise, to any foreign power, organization, or to any foreigner of whatever public character, or official position should not be permitted to acquire or retain citizenship nor be allowed eligibility to any political or public office or to any office of trust in any corporation or chartered organization, and should be deprived of the right of teaching in any institution of learning and of holding a commission in the army and navy; an educational qualification should be imposed, that is, the possession of a certificate from a secular school or institution of learning should be required, as a condition of citizenship, and all statute laws regulating immigration should apply in spirit and design the principle of maintaining in our country an exclusive Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon civilization. The same principle should be enforced with respect to our educational system from the "Kindergarten" to university graduation.

At the outset, it should be the policy of the American democracy to nationalize the Roman Catholic Church, to withdraw it entirely from all centralized authority, and to change its theocratic organization into one in conformity with American principles and institutions. So long as a large body of citizens remain subject to the rule of an "infallible" being, whose statements and orders must be obeyed and carried into effect by his followers as the unchangeable truths and orders of God, so long this person and the theocratic system he represents will be a danger to democracy. It matters not whether this person, as at present, is a foreigner on distant shores, or, as the future may behold,

a citizen of the United States with the constitutional right to be elected their President.

On account of the ever increasing Catholic population of an ignorant and superstitious character, it is far more important and vital to the maintenance of republican institutions to separate the Catholic Church in this country from all foreign or personal government and influences than it was at the beginning of the War of Independence to separate the Episcopal Church of America from the government of England. The while this Church recognized the ecclesiastical and temporal ruler of England as the church's spiritual head it acted as a foreign body in the organism of American society, always jeopardizing its welfare and retarding its political progress; with autonomy, it merged into democracy and into Americanism. The Anglicans of pre-revolutionary times were of the same race as the majority of the people of the Colonies, while the immense majority of the Catholic population of the United States is at present and probably in the future will be of a foreign race and of a foreign civilization. It has already been stated that the dependent position of the Anglican Church in the Colonies was one of the two great moral causes of the American revolution. The dependent position of the Catholic Church and its unparalleled and, therefore, alarming growth in the United States should arouse the American democracy to a full sense of the danger threatening our institutions and the nation's ethical life before the foreign establishment has gained such power and secured such a firm lodgment that it can only be reduced and overcome by an appeal to the policy of "blood and iron" and after tremendous sacrifices in treasure and blood.

The decade following the War of Independence witnessed a strong feeling of the American people against everything foreign. During this time the Roman Catholic population increased slowly. But with the end of the Napoleonic wars the tide of emigration from the Latin countries of Europe set strongly toward America. The Roman Catholic population in the United States increased rapidly and with it the hostile feeling of the American people against Popery.

In 1828 a German politician and devout Roman Catholic, "Frederick Schlegel," Court Counsellor of Austria and friend and adviser of Mephistopheles Metternich, advised in a number of lectures a federation of Catholic powers for

the suppression of Protestantism as the source of democracy and the destruction of the North American Republic as the cradle of revolution. To these purposes he proposed the establishment of Catholic missions in North America and of a religious order to be specially charged with a preparatory movement in the execution of these religious political-reactionary designs. Such an order was founded as an off-shoot of the Society of Jesus and called the "St. Leopold Foundation."

While these proceedings aroused the suspicion of the American people, the rapidly increasing Irish immigration and the corresponding growth of the Romish establishment revived the nativistic movement which received a distinctly religious character from a powerful Protestant feeling having seized the masses whose faith and patriotism had been challenged by the jeers and taunts of the Irish rabble. At the close of this period of religious and political excitement attempts were made to stop the spread of Romanism by violence and mob rule.

SECTION II

The Native-American Party. The decade covered by the forties is an important one in the history of the anti-Catholic movement in the United States. Before, it had been of a spontaneous and indefinite character affecting more or less all political parties, lacking cohesion, a rallying point, and a program. Until the time specified it was a mysterious feeling of impending danger which seized the masses by intuition and propelled them into mob violence and into irrational political action, generating the germs of almost immediate dissolution which within two decades were fully developed and proved destructive to the entire movement.

It was unfortunate that its first crystallization took place in the South where in 1841 the people of Louisiana called a State convention and founded the American Republican party or, as it soon came to be called, the Native-American party. That great section of our country was almost without a foreign born population. The slave-owning and landed aristocracy cared little for the religious character of the movement. To them every religion which upheld slavery as a divine institution and their social order as consistent with a republican form of government was tolerable.

But the Southern chivalry feared the spread of the ideas which condemned slavery as a crime against humanity and democracy, ideas which after the revolutionary movements of 1830 had agitated all Europe and found embodiment in the great anti-slavery movement emancipating the slaves in the British possession. The slavocracy of the South feared less the Celtic and Catholic immigration from Ireland than a possible large emigration from the countries peopled by the Teutonic race where the humane doctrines as to man and his relations to society were being advocated with the fervor of religious conviction.

Liberalism, not Romanism, was to be shut out by the organization of a party undemocratic in its character because it set itself against the traditions of our race and the historical truths of the Reformation. The Native-American party was a political compound of opposing elements of which slavocracy and nativism, as ultra-reactionary forces, prevented the formation of an ethical whole. Eventually the movement might have lost entirely its religious character but for the newly advanced demands of the Catholics for a share in the school funds, and for the exclusion of the Protestant version of the Bible from the public schools. These demands aroused a strong religious feeling in the North, and, for the time being, preserved the movement from an outright conversion into a political instrument of Southern aggressions. The reactionary spirit which had taken its rise from the cursed institution of slavery survived the temporary reduction of the movement and was transmitted to the succeeding one of like nature. As Know-Nothingism it disgraced the great American democracy.

SECTION III

Know-Nothingism.—A Forerunner of Mgr. Satolli. The Mexican War, the struggle over the extension of slavery, the Free-Soil movement, the discovery of gold, and the rush to California for a time distracted the attention of the American people from the silent and steady advance of Romanism, and the anti-Catholic movement, so far as its political character was concerned, almost died out. Its political resurrection in a reactionary garb was due to the political necessities of the slavocracy when the crushing defeat of Scott laid the Whigs prostrate and the then de-

veloping liberal and anti-slavery movement in the North, which later on crystallized into the Republican party, challenged the political supremacy of the South.

Meanwhile the anti-Catholic feeling as a religious effusion had never been suffered to subside altogether. The disclosures in 1845 concerning the imprisonment of an American citizen in a Catholic institution, the disclosures and lectures on auricular confessions, by "Giustinani," the anti-Roman crusade of Father "Gavozzi," an apostate Barnabite monk; the exhortations of numerous anti-Popery preachers wandering from town to town, and finally the landing in New York in the Autumn of 1853 of a Papal nuncio, Mgr. "Gaetano Bedini," the forerunner of Mgr. "Satolli," inflamed the passions of the masses and even filled the conservative and intelligent part of the people with evil forebodings.

Even then the revival of the Native-American Party might have had only a fleeting effect on American politics and have remained localized but for "The Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner" and those Northern Whigs, mean of courage and imbecile of mind, who were opposed to the extension of slavery in the territories and, yet, on principle upheld an institution from which they feared much future mischief. In 1854 the Order, which had received from its opponents the popular name of Know-Nothings, began its invisible, resistless, and mysterious career. The Order opposed political Romanism, insisted that all Church property of every sect should be taxed; that no foreigner under any name, appointed by any foreign ecclesiastical authority, should have control of any property, church, or school in the United States; that no foreigner should hold office; that there should be a common-school system on strictly American principles; that no citizen of foreign birth should ever enjoy all the rights of the native born; and that even children of foreigners born on the soil should not have full rights unless trained and educated in the common-schools.

The sweeping nativistic principles of the Order and these planks in the platform of the Native American Party "We insist on the unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States . . . and to this end on the non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States" and "We insist

on the maintenance and enforcement of laws constitutionally enacted until said laws shall be repealed or declared null and void by judicial authority," show clearly the directing influences of the reactionary Southern element in the Party as well as over its sustaining force, the Know-Nothing movement. The one plank endorsed the States' rights principle, the other the infamous Dred Scott decision. With the growth of the Republican Party and the ever more distinctly appearing signs of the approach of an irrepressible conflict between democracy and slavery, the liberal element, or, if such a designation is admissible, the religious element in the Native-American Party joined the new party and the true-blue, dyed-in-the-wool nativistic element and the Northern pro-slavery Whigs the Democratic party. Know-nothingism disclosed its true Southern and anti-humane character in the lingering traces which it left in Baltimore, where it drew to itself during a carnival of crime and lawlessness all the ruffians, "plug-uglies," and "tigers," and in the Southern Ku-Klux-Klans and White Cap organizations of post-bellum days. In Baltimore, in 1861, it incited the murder of the yeomanry of Massachusetts marching to the defense of the nation's capital; in the South, down to the present day, it incites the murder of defenseless negroes, controls elections with the shot-gun and sells its political influence in the nation's councils to the trusts. And in the North? Well, there it has been ever since running amuck trying to slay the missionaries of an advancing civilization, to interpose its own private reason for public reason or down it with passion, to stifle the voice of science, and to serve slavishly its new masters, Plutocracy and Romanism.

As an anti-Catholic movement Know-Nothingism was ethically not sufficiently far reaching and politically illogical and suicidal because it was not fixed in the Reformation and followed no racial lines; it proscribed the foreign born of the Teutonic race and of the Protestant faith and took into fellowship all the morally deficient political elements that, from historical times have retarded the progress of the human race and in the end have always served the reactionary powers. Know-Nothingism was a tool of the planter aristocracy, an auxiliary in the defense of slavery. Unfortunately the American Protective Association avoided

not the pitfalls of Capitalism and nativism, the one born of greed and the other of ignorance and morbid pride.

History teaches that, the world over, every anti-Roman movement not of purely humane conception and not direct in its purpose in the end serves but Rome. It will not do to build around the United States another Chinese Wall and to hedge within it an Americanism which in the age of science and with the approach of the reign of reason is but a synonym of provincialism always of the narrowest and not seldom of an idiotic kind. The seeds of moral, economic, and social progress are wafted over the highest wall and with the fostering care of the God of Love and Justice will root and blossom and bear fruit.

PART VI
OUR ULTRAMONTANE PARTY AND
ROME'S AUXILIARIES

CHAPTER I

A JESUITICAL POLICY. MANY CAUSES CONTRIBUTED TO THE
GROWTH OF ROMANISM ON AMERICAN SOIL

SECTION I

The Confederacy and Rome's Treachery. The reactionary character of the first two anti-Catholic movements jeopardized the progressive elements of our population and their humane tendencies as much as Roman power. The struggle over slavery and the growth of capitalism generally demoralized our population, weakened patriotism, degenerated party politics into bossism; the skillful massing of the Catholic vote gained exceptional political result; the Protestant sects reduced to worldliness, lost their influence and leadership.

In 1870, James Fisk, the partner of Jay Gould in his early schemes of fraud and robbery as a railroad wrecker and Wall Street sharp, during an election for members of the Legislature of New York, said: "We are Democrats in Democratic districts and Republicans in Republican districts that both parties may serve us in the end." This has been the policy of the Romish Church when her own strength was doubtful and her natural ally, the Democratic party, in a hopeless minority, while the Republican party as yet, was possessed of the spirit of the Reformation and encompassed by racial traditions, and was a very different body from the effete and chicken-hearted Republican party of this time. This policy of division of forces and of their local manipulation was successful in many directions: it sustained the life of the Democratic party in the North and buncoed the Republican party into a policy of *laissez faire* in all matters pertaining to Romanism; it permitted the control of the municipalities in which the Catholic vote was

a deciding factor; it prevented hostile legislation in the various States; it coerced the Democratic party in the South while it paralyzed the Republican party in the North; it demoralized and cowed the politicians of both parties; it sent the Democratic party drifting away from Jeffersonianism, and the Republican party from Lincolnism; it paved the way for a Jesuit party whose members outwardly remained loyal to their party though in reality they served only Rome.

During the War of the Rebellion the Romish Church adhered to the same policy. While his Holiness the Pope as the infallible vicar of Christ hastened to recognize the Confederacy and lent his influence to the defense of slavery that the Protestant Republic of North America might be destroyed, the Romish hierarchy of the North made a show of loyalty in the organization of Irish regiments, which, according to the statements of Roman editors and orators, fought all our battles and gained all our victories. They are silent to the fact, matters of record in the archives of the War Department, that only nine per cent. of the Irish enlisted and that of 144,000 Irishmen in the Union army 104,000 deserted.

When in 1863 the rebels assumed the offensive, when Lee's army invaded the North, and the fate of the Union hung in the balance, when the cities of the North were left defenseless, the militia having left for the seat of war, Rome threw off its mask of loyalty and instigated the draft riots in Boston and New York, where the fanatical Irish rabble repeated the bloody scenes of St. Bartholomew. Not a Romish priest interfered when the Roman Catholic Irish of New York burned down an orphan asylum for colored children and in beastly frenzy flung the helpless children into the flames; not a Romish priest interfered when the Irish mob stoned to death a detachment of defenseless crippled veterans, when the mob fired buildings, pillaged and murdered. When it became apparent that the insurrection in the North would be crushed, when it appeared probable that the patriotic fury of the people might also assail Romanism as the source of treason and hold Jesuitism responsible for its dastardly act of inciting rebellion in the rear of the Union army during a crisis of the nation and while the city was left defenseless and at the mercy of its anarchical Irish mob, then, after

days of bloodshed and terror, after the slaughter of defenseless Protestant women and children, the Archbishop of New York addressed the mob, his faithful and always obedient flock, the murderers and incendiaries as "my children" and counselled the acceptance of the inevitable: submission.

The spirit that animated the bloodthirsty Irish Catholic mob to raise in the streets of New York the standard of rebellion is the same spirit that for centuries of Romish aggressions has incited crimes without end. It is not a spirit fatalistic in its nature like that which moves the peoples of Oriental countries, the mujiks of Russia, or the oppressed of the Hebrew nation; it is brutish and destructive of the best and highest interests and the prestige of Republican institutions and must be made odious, or it will endanger the safety of the Republic. It is the spirit that impels Catholics to obey the laws when they are satisfactory to Rome and to offer resistance when they oppose the Church.

It is the same anti-American, anti-Democratic, anti-Republican, anti-humanitarian spirit that has manifested itself in anarchism. Shall we crush it promptly, or shall it be allowed to again endanger the existence of the Republic? Shall we crush it at once and forever, or shall we wait until it compels us to sacrifice upon the altar of the country another million of precious lives and the accumulated wealth of generations to expiate the sin of having allowed ourselves to be swayed by selfishness and cowardice? In place of vague desire, we must make conscious effort to down Romanism, the incarnate representative of the spirit of darkness, that we may save our country from the despotism of a theocracy that in an age in which demoniacal possession is considered a form of mental malady claims the power of successful exorcism, and on American soil and that a century after the *Declaration of Independence* practices necromancy as a religious rite.

SECTION II

From Mere Toleration to a Commanding Position. In 1889 Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore said in a pastoral letter published on the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States: "The Catholic Church subsists and expands under all forms of government and adapts herself

to all times and places and circumstances; and this she does *without any compromise of principle, or any derogation from the supreme authority of the church*, . . . the discipline of the church is changeable, just as man himself is ever the same in his *essential characteristics*, while *his dress varies* according to the fashions of the times." At another occasion the same Cardinal said: "Now, if we look at the humble beginning of the Church in this country and what she has passed through and all the difficulties she has surmounted . . . if we consider all this and how she has grown from so simple a beginning to what she is at present, ten millions of Catholics to-day where formerly there were so few, *what may we not count upon in the future?* With our superior organization and *the kindlier view that is taken of us*, I think *we have reason to entertain the brightest hopes.*"

The statements of Cardinal Gibbons, Primas of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, contain a lesson and a warning to the American people. They show by what means the Romish Church is ascending in political power and that she is looking higher for the climax of supreme dominion in the Republic. The Jesuitical policy which adapts itself to circumstances, skillfully hides its purposes, covers the iron hand of intolerance and theocratic despotism and, for the time being, suppresses all emotions of ambition and greed, has had a wonderful effect on the American people. Separated by an ocean from the scenes of Papal dominion and Jesuitism, the American people have remained unacquainted with their historical effects, have never felt their clammy touch and have only a remote conception of the vile practices and hypocritical professions of the Roman theocracy and, therefore, in their apparently safe seclusion, became so tolerant of intolerance that, sooner than defend their rights and repulse the invision, they allowed Rome to ride over them rough shod. Gradually Rome has so scared the American people with the shout of "bigotry" that they have allowed her to fill the public offices with Irish pretorians and American traitors, loot the public treasuries, attack the schools, subsidize the press, muzzle the preachers and coerce the Legislatures. Thus the very love of religious and civic liberty of the masses of the American people became the nourishing element of Romanism. If we add the advantages which Rome enjoyed

in a newly forming civilization within a nation hastily consolidating and developing its resources under continually changing conditions, we can understand how it is that Romanism silently and almost unchallenged entered into the organism of the state and now has a fair chance of acquiring complete control. The War of the Rebellion, the succeeding general demoralization of the people, the changes in their relations brought about by new economic conditions, and the immense growth in wealth of entire classes and of individuals gave to Rome the patiently awaited opportunity to advance with giant strides from a condition of mere toleration in society to one of commanding superiority in the politics of the nation. During this period of social and political corruption Rome seized every opportunity to bring into play on the political chess board her knaves, the great body of Irish and Italian Catholics. Then the policy of massing forces for the success of one party or the other was inaugurated and ably directed in the exclusive interest of Rome.

If the Irish-born population of any American city be multiplied by three, the approximate native-born population of Irish parentage will be attained, and if the total be divided by five the number of Irish voters under the absolute influence of the Romish church can be computed. Calculating the political strength of the Romish establishment in the United States it is necessary to include the immense majority of the bigoted ignorant Italians, Bohemians, and Poles, and also their native-born progeny and the native-born population of Irish descent in the third generation. The influences of the Church, the brutish instincts of the Celtic and Slavic races and their clanishness which creates a solid nucleus of votes, always giving political preference to a Catholic over any one else, are powerful agencies of continued political adhesion. This is particularly the case with the Irish. In fact, had one been asked to prepare a race for dominance among a people governed as are the people of the United States by universal suffrage, he could not have improved on the Irish. Under the skillful direction of the Church the Irish voters have so concentrated their energy along a given line as to eliminate nearly all waste of force. Though being one of the turbulent races, the Irish, through their superstition and general

ignorance, uncultured as they are, subject themselves willingly to the most severe discipline and blindly obey the orders of their political leaders who are absolutely ruled by their spiritual advisers. Yet are their organizations democratic in this, that he who can rule rules. The law of the survival of the fittest governs, that the Church may profit by it. To her it matters not who the Boss is. Every one is the tool and slave of the Church. Whenever one or the other fails to serve any longer the purposes of the Church he is unceremoniously dropped and another is substituted who is more circumspect in corrupt practices and sufficiently prudent not to parade sudden wealth mysteriously acquired. The leaders chosen by the Church are usually men of limited education, often "lewd fellows of the baser sort," that their ambition may not outstrip the interests and purposes of the Church.

SECTION III

The Strongholds of the Irish-Roman Freebooters. So long as the ignorant Irish only constituted Rome's forces available for political purposes, her political operations were limited to the control of municipalities in which as compact communities the various advantages outlined could make themselves felt. The treasury of every city in which Rome ruled supreme was robbed to build up the Church, to support her institutions, and the large criminal and pauper classes that are found in every Roman Catholic country and within every race subjugated by Rome as the result of her pernicious and soul-killing rule. Whenever the corruption and the thefts of Irish Catholic municipal politicians were disclosed to the public the Church was always anxious to save the faithful from punishment for the very reasons which moved a juror to vote for the acquittal of a prisoner charged with stealing a pig. The juror was *particeps criminis*; the hams were curing in his smoke-house. Besides the Catholic discipline does not contemplate excommunication for violation of the moral code, but only for lapse from the faith and refusal to obey ecclesiastical directions. When the Tweed ring was hurled from power in New York not one of its Catholic members was held criminally responsible. After a few years of banishment, during which they lived in luxury on the proceeds

of their rascality, they returned, paid back a trifle of their stealings, and continued to be prominent members of the Irish-Catholic community and of the Church.

Then already, over forty years ago, the political and social power of the Romish church was such that her efforts not only saved the most notorious thieves of the age from criminal prosecution but also managed the appointment by the citizens committee of Seventy, mostly men of wealth who silently recognized the value of the Romish Church and system as reactionary agencies, of Charles O'Connor, a faithful and always obedient son of the Church, as general prosecutor of the Tammany ring. The curious legal blunders committed by this great jurist right at the start in the institution of civil suits and his adroit mismanagement of the investigation, in which he was purposely and skillfully assisted by the famous reformer and notorious railroad wrecker and political wirepuller, Samuel J. Tilden, saved the rascals from State prison and from returning their ill-gotten wealth and—the Romish Church from the unpleasantness of revealing the sources of the greater part of its riches and revenues in New York State.

To break the hold of the Roman Church on American municipalities it is necessary to break the political hold of the Catholics on the same and to deprive them of every opportunity to live at the expense of the public.

As yet, the political power of the Church and of the Irish depends on their ability to live massed in the cities. A continuance of such ability will in the nearest future menace American civilization. Therefore, whenever the American people shall again have gained control of their municipalities, it must become a fixed policy, closely and unflinchingly pursued, to refuse employment to the Irish or to all professing Catholics on any municipal or private improvement under municipal control, to the end that the pretorians of the church shall be forced to disperse to such localities where they can be overawed and held in check. For the lower class of labor negroes can be successfully employed. Democracy would then strike a double blow for freedom and humanity; at Jesuitism, and at the planter aristocracy of the South. An equalization of the labor market of the South will increase the negro's wage, advance him intellectually, morally, and socially, and save him from the cruel persecution of the Southern chivalry.

Such a policy would help materially and morally to solve the negro question. It would continually influence and shape the economic and social conditions of the South, reduce her political weight in the affairs of the nation, likewise race prejudices and the social and political dangers threatening the Republic from the concentration of races that will always remain foreign material in our organic body and as such cannot assimilate with Teutonic or Protestant civilization.

CHAPTER II

REACHING OUT FOR THE PRESIDENCY

SECTION I

President Garfield's Assassination. John Carroll, the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States, said in one of his pastoral letters: "I do not wish the Church to vegetate as a delicate exotic plant; it must grow a sturdy tree, deep rooted in the soil and inured to the climate of the country." So long as the Romish Church was the church of the Irish only, of a foreign born population and of a foreign race, it remained an exotic plant on American soil. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to bring the Church into outward relation with the economic, social, and political peculiarities of the American people and to proselyte a considerable part thereof.

From the foundation of Georgetown College to the organization of the great Roman Catholic University in Washington it has been the aim of the Romish Church to draw within its educational influences the children of well to do and influential Protestants. Extraordinary success has crowned this policy because the Roman Catholic educational establishments of a higher grade were far superior in method and curriculum to our private and public institutions of similar character. The pedagogics of the Jesuit fathers have always merited the highest praise and this qualification served them well to increase the riches and to augment the power of their Order and of their Church.

In the Roman Catholic educational institutions the children of American parentage were gradually estranged from Protestantism; the affections were turned into channels which sooner or later would lead to Rome or to indifference in all matters of a religious and racial character. The superior mental training which the Protestant children had received in the institutions of the Jesuit Order qualified them for commanding position in society and advanced them rapidly in their avocations, in the professions, and in politics. Outwardly professing Protestantism, at heart

Romanists, they were in a position to advocate and to advance, in one way or another, the cause of Rome without exciting suspicion or burdening the Church with responsibilities. They formed the nucleus of the Jesuit or Ultramontane party in our country, which enlarged with the growth of Romish power in politics and now has ramifications in every political party, almost in every private and public institution, in every public office, and in the army and navy. It controlled many administrations and Congresses, the States' Legislatures, the political conventions, the public schools and many seats of learning; it enters Protestant pulpits and the councils of Protestant sects.

With the rapid growth of this party, the Roman Catholic Church extended its political operations. It entered State politics and gained a strong foothold in Congress. By degrees it secured the control of the governments of States in which the Irish population was numerically strong. It sent its representatives to the United States Senate, placed them on the bench of the United States Supreme Court and reached out for the Presidency of the United States in repeated attempts to control the National conventions of parties.

The first such attempt was made at the meeting of the Democratic National Convention of 1876, held at St. Louis, where the Church forced concessions from the successful candidate. At this Convention the Romanists soon were made aware that their strength was not sufficient to insure the nomination of their candidate, Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana; Tilden also lacked in strength. After the second ballot it became apparent that another would result in the choice of a compromise candidate. The key to the position was held by the Chairman of the Missouri delegation, Mr. Spanhorst, a devout Catholic and a representative politician of the Church. The presiding officer of the Convention, a Tilden man, hastily entertained a motion for a recess and before the vote was announced, declared it carried. Tilden's managers then appealed to Rome, or rather decided to agree to its propositions which to them were well known. Mr. Spanhorst was the editor and proprietor of the Roman Catholic *Amerika*, a German weekly of influence published in St. Louis in a building situated directly opposite the Convention hall. After a hurried conference in Mr. Spanhorst's office this gentleman agreed to change the vote of

Missouri from Hendricks to Tilden, who lacked only a few votes.

As the Republican boss of New York City, Mr. Arthur had always had intimate relations with Rome. The Republican party had then already entered into the long period of turpitude from which it partly emerged in 1893. The professional managers of the party in their purblindness then expected to retain power indefinitely by an alliance with Rome and to fill up the ever widening gap in the ranks of the party with Irish recruits as substitutes for the disgusted American and German veterans who from 1860 had carried the party's banner from victory to victory. Of course Rome demanded concessions. Mr. Arthur was nominated as Vice-President with the understanding that he should control the Federal appointments in the State of New York, the political control of which was then much desired by Rome. Campbellite Garfield's unexpected and determined stand against the encroachments of Rome spoiled the program. For his strong Americanism he suffered martyrdom; *like others he was felled down by that mysterious power that had clouded the assassin's mind and enslaved his will.* Though circumstances, and Guiteau's apparition, often interposed, Rome fared well under Arthur's administration.

It must be left to history to define the nature and extent of the relations which undoubtedly existed between Mr. Blaine and Rome and to fix the limits of their duration. Certain it is, that Rome's most powerful political machine in this country, Tammany Hall, exerted itself in 1884 to carry the pivotal State of New York for Blaine. Large sums of money had been judiciously placed by Tammany politicians to secure for him the labor vote of New York City either directly or indirectly under cover of a third candidate, Mr. Cooper. In a certain sense, Mr. Blaine was unfortunate in his ambitious desire to reach the top notch of political preferment. Whenever the coveted prize appeared to be in his reach, accidents overtook his candidacy; some might call them acts of Providence, fit retribution. A slip of the tongue of the Rev. Burchard—Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion—and one of those periodical, curious, always amusing quarrels over the distribution of the spoils and the bossing of the ecclesiastical machine—which so often disturb the inner circles of the Romish

ecclesiastical family, always somewhat in the nature of Barnum's happy family, and which enhance the nobility and beauty of the ancient church and serve so well its divine purpose and demonstrate its divine origin—were the real causes of Mr. Blaine's defeat. Catholic Mr. Grace, representing in politics one party to the quarrel, and Catholic Mr. Grant, representing the other, were contesting for the Mayoralty of New York. With Mr. Burchard's timely and gratuitous help and through quite legitimate influences the labor vote was switched into the Grace camp at the very last moment. Certain it is, that in the first Harrison campaign Mr. Blaine, through Mr. Grace, entered into negotiations with the Romish Church. Mr. Grace was then again in full harmony with all of his co-religionists and angry with Cleveland. In the distribution of patronage and in certain appointments in the diplomatic and customs service Mr. Harrison apparently endeavored to square accounts with Mr. Grace and the Romish Church.

SECTION II

David Bennett Hill, Rome's Candidate for the Presidency. In the Presidential campaign of 1892 Rome played a bold, shrewd and peculiar game which she lost preëminently because the sugar trust and kindred organizations, to which in the interim Mr. Cleveland had consecrated himself, were able to offer superior attractions to impecunious delegates to the National Democratic Convention.

From experience gathered during Presidential campaigns and at the White House at Washington the Romish Church drew the lesson not to trust the promises of candidates. Circumstances, over which they might have no control, old associations, and party pressure usually enforced after the inauguration a departure from the policy agreed upon by the contracting parties. Besides the Church felt strong enough to cast aside all reserve and to execute one of the master moves through which Rome has been so successful in all ages and in all countries.

A Catholic President, in purpose, if not in faith, with all the patronage of the government in his hands could favor and build up the Church in multitudinous ways. The concentration of the Catholic vote in the pivotal States on the candidate of one or the other party might decide the election. The only questions to be settled were the choice

of the party and of the candidate. The Church was tired of the see-saw game. It had experienced in New York City and State the benefits of concentrated action. There all Catholic institutions were more or less supported with money raised by taxation. If the same policy could be carried through in Washington, where the Church has many interests at stake, others could be created to be fostered.

When the germs of this policy were developed the far-reaching and towering plan of Leo XIII in the relations of the Papacy to the United States were, as yet, not conceived and, of course, unknown to the American hierarchy. They were moved in the matter simply by the desire to extend the process of exploitation all over the United States and to secure the control of the national exchequer as they already controlled the exchequers of the State and municipality of New York and of other Cities and States. With them it was a business matter; political considerations were of less import.

The Church, therefore, decided to train a Presidential candidate and to secure one of the great parties as a willing instrument. Notwithstanding the degeneration of the Republican party, and the cowardice, mediocrity, rapacity, corruption, and propensity of the party's leaders to serve the devil, the acute political instinct of Rome convinced her that at that time the masses of the Republican party would always remain true to American principles and that they could not be held in intellectual or political bondage after they once awoke to the fact. Intimate relations with the Republican party might lay it open to suspicion, demoralize it, and compromise the leaders with the Protestant masses. Thus weakened it could be turned into a minority party. Yet its very composition made it a standing menace to Rome. From November, 1884, such had been its policy.

The Democratic party offered to Rome various advantages. In the first place the Irish were part and parcel of it. The South was solidly Democratic. Her politicians had entered into an *entente* with Rome. The American stock of the Democratic party is given to hunkerism and Bourbonism; and great numbers of this stock, illiterate, boorish, and superstitious, would believe that the earth is a huckleberry pie if the party platform so stated. Furthermore, the Democratic party was massed in the big cities where

the corrupting influences of the Church have full play. Moreover, as a soulless conglomerate mass, the party had sooner or later to become the political instrument of International Capitalism, the twin of theocracy.

In her choice of a politician to be trained for the Presidential race Rome displayed her usual acumen, patience, and thorough knowledge of the elements of the Democratic party and of the mental characteristics and low morality of the average American politician. Rome chose a man whose personality was the product of a *fin de siècle* society that, in the judgment of any casuist of a foreign race, appeared to drift into dissolution, to be extremely superficial in intellectuality and morality, and to be imbued with the spirit which finds definition in the proverb "The devil take the hindmost." Rome once more made one of its usual mistakes in its dealings with the Teutonic race and with Protestantism.

The man chosen as the standard bearer of Romanism was David Bennett Hill. As a youthful politician with a very superficial education he matriculated in the high school of Tweedism and graduated therefrom as a choice spirit of political sophistry and an adept in the legerdemain by which men impose upon their own soul and for a time beguile the public. Unprincipled, unscrupulous, crafty, and resourceful, without character and without genius, by nature molded to decorous behavior and abstemious habits, cautious and fairly intelligent, without religious sentiments or such of the heart, by profession a lawyer, and by selective nature destined for the priesthood, David Bennett Hill was just the man to suit the purposes of Rome. As the duck takes to the water, so did such an individual drift towards Rome, and though outwardly a Protestant, it is now certain that he had been made a convert and a lay brother of the Order of Loyola. If it serves their purposes, the Jesuits do not demand from proselytes a public renunciation of their creed or the severance of former religious and social relations.

Labelled "I am a Democrat," provided with the "Stars and Stripes," and with the best organ money could buy, David was sent by way of Albany along the road to the White House to dicker, wherever opportunity offered, with the politicians of all parties. On his way, he met the professional labor agitators, the rum sellers, the Jews and

the gentiles, and the Republican politicians who afterwards ascribed the Republican victory of 1893 to the interposition of Providence and who were then, as they are now, ever ready to sell the birthright of the American people. In Chicago, David met his Goliath, who had consecrated himself to Mammon and to the trusts and corporations and whom the modern Philistines had chosen as their King. David hurled his political pebbles against the giant and was ingloriously knocked over and out by a sugar barrel. As yet, the Philistines were jealous of Rome and apprehensive, that she might carry off the kernels and leave to them the husks. To succeed in the next Democratic National Convention, Mr. Hill needed the solid vote of the delegation of his State, an advantage which he lacked in 1892. To this end his reelection as Governor of New York State became a necessity. His nomination in the Fall of 1894 was carefully arranged for and carried with theatrical effect. The great Protestant wave which swept over our country in November, 1894, buried David under the débris of the Democratic-Roman-Celtic party.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH OF THE POOR, ILLITERATE, AND MORALLY DEGRADED

SECTION I

Under the Disguise of Charitableness. In the Middle Ages the Romish Church acquired enormous estates by threatening the sick and the aged with the terrors of the next world if they would not turn over a large part of their property to the Church. If a person's heirs were not Roman Catholics, the aged and the dying were admonished that it was their duty to God to leave their property to the Church instead of to heretic heirs.

In France, Germany, England, Italy, and Mexico, the most careful and stringent laws have been enacted to protect estates against the rapacity of the Church; but in this country, it could easily avoid such laws as we have by establishing Church charities, under the control of a Bishop and have the money left nominally to these charities. It is hardly necessary to state that the Church profited by every opportunity offered to increase its riches by legacy-hunting. It amassed immense riches by it. Thousands of cases are on record in our courts where the Church robbed the legitimate heirs and to this purpose applied all the tricks, deceptions, perversions, and all the craftiness, Jesuitism is capable of. Thousands of cases are never heard of. The process is steadily going on all about us. The instructions given in the secret manual by the Jesuits to their satellites, are to be on the watch for aged people of large estates, who have no children; or if they have children, then to excite prejudice against them and obtain wills, if possible, giving their estates to the institutions of the Church.

To avert suspicion, to allay opposition, and to bring Romanism nearer to the heart of a charitable people of strong instinctive dread of Popery, the Roman Catholic Church practiced deceit and introduced itself to the American nation under the guise of charitableness. Charity

is the employment of one's own means for the good of others. It is the highest Christian virtue, and the duty especially of all churches; but to get hold of and use the public money to make a profit, and to build up a sect under the pretense of charity, is hypocrisy, and in a democratic community, a social evil and a political crime.

The Romish Church in the United States stands convicted of fostering pauperism and crime for the sake of gain. Romish charitableness is a highly profitable business by which the Church has amassed immense riches and possessed itself of large landed estates. With few exceptions all charitable institutions founded by this Church served but this one purpose; the ground on which they were erected was a public gift, the buildings were paid for by the charitable public or benevolent Protestants, and the inmates are supported by contributions or by public taxes. At first the Romish Church founded hospitals and asylums as a matter of policy, later on for revenue only. Benevolent societies were organized for no other purpose than to facilitate legacy-hunting, to secure the inheritance of which the legal heirs have been robbed, and to hide the Church's riches from public view and from the tax-gatherer. In the City of New York alone the Romish Church has drawn from the city treasury for the support of its poor and for "charitable purposes generally" over \$24,000,000 between 1865 and 1894, of which sum at least fifty per cent. has been clear profit.

The way this profit is secured is apparent from the following example: In the City of New York there is a "Foundling Asylum of the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity." The institution is chartered by the State and supported under cover of general laws Jesuitically drafted for the almost exclusive benefit of Romish institutions and the treasury of the Church, inasmuch as in the State and City of New York about four-fifths of all the poor, sick, destitute, friendless, infirm, and foundlings being a public charge or within the scope of these laws are either foreign born Catholics or of Catholic parentage. The foundlings in the above mentioned institution may be two years old when received by the "Sisters" and may "board" with them, or under their control till 18 years old if girls, and 21 years old if boys. They may be indentured to this institution, if half-orphans, by either the father or mother;

and the mother may board there, also, to look after the children. As to this provision of the law no time limits are mentioned. For every child boarding there, these "charitable sisters" draw from the city treasury \$138.70 per year, and for every mother boarding there, \$216 per year, total for a mother and child, \$354.70 per year, besides having the work of the inmates free of all charge. This work is profitably employed, for the "Sisters" run so-called sweat shops for manufacturers and the highest amount of labor is exacted under a cruel discipline. The cost to the city of this Church boarding-house of the Sisters of Charity is now over one million dollars per year, and as it is well managed brings annually not less than \$600,000 net profit to the Church, not counting the large profits from the labor of the "inmates."

The Roman Catholic Protectory in the same city nets a profit of over half a million per year. So profitable to the sect is the Protectory, that they keep agents on the watch at each police court to induce commitments to the institution, and have had laws enacted compelling justices to commit to it. They made war on a public school connected with the city almshouse, and, by act of Legislature broke it up for the purpose of getting possession of a portion of the inmates to swell their own numbers and profits.

They may call any persons in their institutions and reformatory schools "the poor," and so pension them at the expense of the public treasury. There has been no investigation of their statements or accounts, or supervision of their institutions by any public officer, as common safety requires, since public money is paid them; but whatever statement under oath they choose to make is accepted as the basis of payment to them. The Constitution of New York State has been skillfully drawn to perpetuate this abuse.

PART VII

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND ROME

CHAPTER I

ROMAN AGGRESSIONS AND HYPOCRITICAL PROFESSIONS

SECTION I

Parochial Schools. Poverty, illiteracy, and immorality of the masses are the foundations upon which theocracies have always reared their despotic structure. Where "the many are trained to be obedient and willing to be directed, and content to follow," that is, where the common people are held intellectually, spiritually, and politically in bondage, there the priesthood are the harvesters of all the people have sown. An ecclesiastical system that roots in spiritual slavery, and is by its nature formed to generate political slavery, must oppose the spiritual and political emancipation of the masses, and where the latter has been established, incessantly assail its foundation, that the system may be securely planted and grow. Romanism is such an ecclesiastical system. Therefore, in our country the Romish Church must incessantly assail public education and democracy, the causes of the spiritual and political emancipation of the American people. The destruction of our public school system, the bulwark of American institutions, and the social and political demoralization of the American people are the objective points of Romish policy in this country. These once obtained, Rome may supplant our democratic form of government with her theocratic system.

It is hardly necessary to cite the expressions and decrees of the Romish Church on the school question. Its policy and the effect thereof is a matter of history. Whoever has read history understands the animus of the Papacy in relation to common education. Illiteracy, and therefore brutishness, and immorality have been the ban of peoples on whom the blighting effect of Romanism had fully settled. In the United States it is a well established fact that Rome's

policy has always been one of avowed hostility to the public schools. Her opposition to them has been declared repeatedly in a variety of forms. The show of sympathy with education work, which of late has replaced open hostility, is a matter of wise policy on the part of that Church to mislead the American people and to prepare public opinion for the secret ambitious designs of Leo XIII and probably of his successors. It is also intended as an entering wedge to disrupt our system of education and, for the better attainment of this purpose, to create the impression that Rome has adopted the American idea of common education as necessary to the performance of the duties which the American Government demands of its citizens. When for a century a priesthood have defamed and bitterly opposed our common schools, it does not stand to reason, that their sudden conversion is sincere or anything else than a hypocritical profession to cloak some sinister design. It is the spider's invitation to the fly.

The doctrines and principles laid down in the encyclical letter of Pius IX and the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore are to-day as much in force and binding on all good Catholics as they were before Mgr. Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto, arrived in this country as the Deputy-Pope to teach the American people political wisdom, to interpret their Constitution and laws, and the bearer of a brand new Papal policy which is to dictate to them how they shall conduct their public schools. Mgr. Satolli politely informed us that his Holiness the Pope dearly loved the American people and their Constitution, and, therefore, graciously consented to suspend temporarily the decrees of the Council of Baltimore, provided we would turn over a good slice of the school funds to the bishops, whose principal business appears to be the handling of money. In his eager desire to patronize us, Mgr. Satolli forgot to instruct us about the praying part of the business. From the Council of Baltimore we derive the following conclusions in regard to the public schools:

"1. Catholic parents cannot lawfully send their children to public schools unless in particular cases the Bishop of the diocese deems it allowable. Hence, if parents act otherwise, they violate a strict law in a serious matter, and, consequently, are *incapable of absolution* from any priest so long as they continue violating the law."

"2. It is left to the judgment and convenience of the Bishop of the diocese to decide in what particular cases an exception from the general law is allowable. Hence he may also once for all declare, in such and such places or parts of his diocese or in his whole diocese, there is no sufficient cause for Catholic parents to send their children to public schools; he may, moreover, add, if he pleases, in order to impress the law more deeply on the minds of the faithful, that *no priest has the power to absolve* in such cases within his diocese."

"3. In places where there are such parochial schools, there is absolutely no sufficient reason why Catholic parents should send their children rather to the public than to the parochial schools. Accordingly, the Bishop is perfectly right in withholding the faculties of absolving parents who persistently act against the law of their Bishop, against the laws of the Baltimore Council and against their own consciences."

On July 4, 1893, the "Bien Public" of Ghent, a Catholic newspaper inspired directly from the Vatican, interpreting a Papal letter addressed to Mgr. Satolli in reference to the "Faribault plan of mixed education" of Archbishop Ireland of Milwaukee, said:

"It follows that the decrees of the Plenary Council of Baltimore constitute the rule to be followed always in the matter of schools, and therefore that the denominational school instruction, penetrated by religion and based on religion, is the only one that answers the needs of souls, *the only one the Church approves*, the only one that really merits the confidence of Christian families."

In the Summer of 1894 the Catholic Bishops of England met in Plenary Council and united with Cardinal Vaughan, the Archbishop of Westminster, in a deliverance on public elementary education which coincides in all respects with the decrees of the Plenary Council of Baltimore in regard to the public schools in this country. The deliverance in part is as follows:

"That, while political power and the responsibilities of self-government are more and more devolving upon the masses of the people, and while obvious dangers menace the future of society, it is to the country's highest advantage that religious principles of life and conduct should be deepened and strengthened in the souls of all during

the period of elementary education, and that these advantages can be adequately secured only by Catholic public elementary schools, conducted under Catholic management.

“That Catholic parents cannot in conscience accept or approve for their children a system of education in which secular instruction is divorced from education in their religion.

“That Catholic parents cannot in conscience accept or approve for their children a system of religious education based upon private interpretations of the Bible given by school teachers, whether trained in religious knowledge or not.

“That the only system of religious education which Catholic parents can accept for their children is that given under the authority and direction of the Catholic Church.

“That to take the management of schools intended for Catholic children out of the hands of those who represent the religious conviction of their parents, and to place it in the hands of public ratepayers who cannot represent those convictions, is a violation of parental rights, to be resisted as an unwarrantable attack upon religious liberty and upon a fundamental law of nature.

“That Catholic public elementary schools have a right to as full a share of public money as any other public elementary schools in the country, and that the State ought to distribute for ‘maintenance,’ to all parochial elementary schools an equal proportionate share of public money collected for public elementary education.

“That compulsory State education is an intolerable tyranny, unless due regard be paid to the education of the children in their own religion.”

A Committee was appointed, with Cardinal Vaughan, Primas of England, as Chairman, to draft a bill for presentation to Parliament providing for the expenditure in the maintenance of Catholic schools of a proportionate part of the public money raised for the purpose of elementary education.

In the Autumn of 1893 a circular was issued from Baltimore under the direction of Cardinal Gibbons and by order of Mgr. Satolli to members of City Councils, to members of the Legislature and other city and State officers and to influential Protestant as well as Catholic citizens

in all the States in which the Roman Church has the direction of numerous Catholic voters. The purpose of the circular was to create sentiment in favor of the apportionment of State school funds to Catholic schools. If the effect of the circular upon the public mind had been favorable to a division of the school fund, bills making such provision were to be introduced into the legislative bodies of all the States in which the Catholics and their allied politicians controlled the State's government. The circular closes as follows: "Since it is considered by all that religion (of course meaning the Roman Catholic religion) is an essential element of civilization and the *bulwark of civil government*, we consider that the State in its educational system should have regard for the right of parents to accord to them the religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution." Bills had already been drafted and circulated for approval when the unexpected defeat of the Democratic Party at the Fall elections of 1893 put an end to the movement, at least *for the time being*. Then the Roman Catholic Prelates and Mgr. Satolli and Cardinal Gibbons denied all knowledge of the circular and bills and repeatedly stated, that Rome was not opposed to public education and, that it was the intention of the Pope and the mission of his Deputy to Americanize the Roman Church in the United States. The duplicity of Rome in this matter is made apparent by a perusal of the "deliverance" of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of England. In his Encyclical of January 5, 1895, on American affairs, Leo XIII expressly upholds the orders of the Plenary Council of Baltimore as the law of the Church on educational matters in the United States. The fact is that while the Romish Church must remain mediæval and always foreign and hostile to Teutonic civilization and, therefore, opposed to all and any education of the masses, the secret political designs of Leo XIII demand that the English speaking people shall be misled by professions of patriotism and a guarded endorsement of public education into the belief, that Leo XIII has been the apostle of a new Romanism in sympathy with intellectual and material progress and the sole protector of existing society and of vested rights and interests.

SECTION II

Our System of Education. Until now, our system of public education, though antiquated and in some of its fundamental principles faulty, has been a unit and as such not easily assailable or liable to disruption. Should Rome be able to drive in her entering wedge and establish the principle of a division of the school-funds, the entire foundation of the system would be taken away, and it would be torn into as many divisions as there are religious bodies who have established sectarian schools, or would do so. It is an iniquitous principle, un-American, unwise, and in its consequences it would destroy the unity of political purpose, of civic sentiment, and of patriotic affection of the American nation. In time to come, it would lead to the establishment of a State Church and to the dominance of that sect or Church which would command the largest, most cohesive, and best disciplined body of voters. There is no stopping place between the utter destruction of the public school system and the refusal to use Government money for sectarian instruction. What Rome demands from the American people is the surrender of the historic and vital principles of the Government itself, of the achievements of the Reformation, and the negation of the traditions of our race.

It is well for the American democracy and universal progress that the Romish theocracy must oppose the very principle of public education. This necessity leads to grievous errors in judgment and in policy on the part of the Vatican and of the Roman ecclesiastical politicians in this country. It moves them to assail our public school system in such a manner as to insure its total destruction, and therefore they are forced, more or less, into an open warfare, and to reveal partly their animus, their purpose, and their plans. Could theocracy tolerate even the rudimentary education of the masses without endangering its very existence, the public school system of the United States, as it is to-day, would rather be a help than a hindrance in the realization of Rome's theocratic ambitions and in her settled design upon the life and freedom of our nation, because such a soulless system, as we have, must lead to a general demoralization of the people and eventually to the downfall of the American democracy. A purely secular system of public education which does not

include the training of the youth in the ethics, which are the inheritance of our race and were reasserted and wrought out anew by the Reformation, is not complete and consistent and does not guarantee the steady progress of our democracy, which, in common with the German universities and people, carries the light and hope of the world.

It cannot be denied that our system of public education does not improve the morals of the people, or ennoble the masses; that it does not allay the tumult of animal passions in youth or eradicate the diseases of mind and soul, which seem inherent in modern civilization; that it does not set the soul of the nation free and does not prepare it to solve the chief problem for statesmanship: the orderly pursuit of happiness. It is not desirable to teach in the public schools the dogmas of sects, or to read the Bible, or to cram the children's memory with religious lore to fit them only to be loyal to narrow religious creeds, but it is necessary to instil in their very being the economic, moral, and political precepts of the Reformation, the ideas and ideals of our race, and to train their bodies and minds as was never done before that by the slow progress of national education the future generations may be fitted to uphold freedom and to advance in the humane. *Our system of education must be made Protestant in character and purpose that the nation may preserve its racial character, and that the next generation may be properly prepared for the struggle with Rome which in the United States will then also be a struggle between the Teutonic and Celtic and Latin races.*

We must make education our supreme task that spiritual darkness cannot reach or harm us. The teachers of our public schools must think fearlessly and ceaselessly, must investigate and discuss, must be left free of soul and untrammelled and should be surcharged with the aggressive and progressive spirit of the Reformation and of our race, that truth and the cause of science and learning and with these the morality, the nobility, and the patriotism of the nation be steadily advanced.

Unfortunately, until now, we were befogged by provincialism in matters educational and thus remained hidden to us what was clearly discernible to others: that public education in the United States is far behind the requirements of the age, and that the richest nation on earth was sparing in expenditures for educational purposes or rather

suffered corrupt and ignorant officials to waste the school funds or to misapply them in the interest of Jesuitism. While the poorest village in Germany and in parts of France has been provided with all the modern educational facilities, housed in splendid buildings fitted up with all appliances for physical training to promote personal cleanliness and comfort, mental and bodily health, our public schools are to-day in nearly the same condition as they were in the days of our grandfathers. With few local exceptions our educational system is in method and appliances antiquated.

Purely mechanical teaching or memory-cramming does not develop the mind into independent action, or talent, or individuality. Pestalozzi's doctrine that education is an organic process has not invaded our public school system. It became the foundation of the educational supremacy the German nation has attained in the world. In the course of one century the Pestalozzian doctrines have wrought prodigious changes in the buildings, the course of study, the preparation of teachers, and the methods of instruction, and made it the aim of all educational institutions to minister to the possibilities of mental, moral, and physical development. Of all the progressive nations in Christendom ours is almost the only one that has not at all, or only slightly, applied these changes and profited by them. We adhered to methods which were thought to have special merit, because we imagined them of American origin and growth, while, in fact, they are un-American, not being in harmony with the progressive spirit of our people and age.

To meet Rome successfully in spiritual combat and to be prepared for another irrepressible conflict we must, first of all, reform our system of public education, make it uniform, nationalize it, rescue it from the grasp of the politicians and the misapplied zeal and ambition of the layman, and place it on a scientific basis and under the supervision of pedagogues of high culture and character. We must educate teachers, restrict the employment of females to industrial instruction and to the Kindergarten, rebuild our school houses and introduce a general system of physical training that is not a plaything or fosters sport. We must pay the greatest attention to the training of the A B C classes because in the first years of school-life a child's character is practically formed, for good or for

evil, the mind is developed in one or another direction, and the foundation is laid for moral autonomy, which rests upon intelligence, well-distributed moral affections or interest, and ready will. Just then the child needs the strong guiding hand of a male teacher of established character and professional qualification.

CHAPTER II

CLERICALISM OR DEMOCRACY

This country is by conquest, colonization, emancipation, and civilization Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. The republic was established by the heroism, the blood and the sacrifices of Protestant Teutons. In the War of the Rebellion Teutons and Protestants defended the Republic against the onslaught of a power denying the principle of government by the people and applying to the Papacy for its secret and open support, which was immediately and readily granted. Teutons and Protestants saved the Union, and *they will maintain it*. Therefore, whoever settled or settles in this country must adapt himself to its civilization. The American people in a spirit of cosmopolitanism received the immigrants from all the nations of the earth but the American people did not intend, or bargain to sell their birthright, or to change the form and qualities of their civilization or their religious principles, which are a fundamental part thereof, or permit the newcomers to establish their civilization and a religion incompatible with Teutonic and, therefore, with American civilization. Whoever settled in this country, when its civilization was established, agreed to merge into it and to accept all the consequences. As a logical deduction, it follows, that the children of such settlers, as future citizens of the United States, must be educated in the principles and in the institutions on which our civilization depends. Therefore, the constitutional provision granting religious liberty does not warrant the conclusion, nor even admit the proposition, that public education can rest on any other principles than those fundamental to our civilization.

While the Constitution grants to every individual liberty of conscience, it does not grant the right to assail our civilization or to establish institutions which, *per se*, present a menace to it. Consequently the future citizens of the Republic must be educated in the public schools or

in such institutions which are conducted on the principles on which our civilization rests. All educational institutions, such as parochial and private schools, academies, colleges, and universities, in which these principles are assailed or defied, being a menace to our civilization, should be permanently closed. Teachers who have been educated and trained in principles foreign to our civilization and hostile to it should not be permitted to follow their calling in the United States. The intent of the framers of the Constitution was clearly to prevent the establishment of a State Church but they never intended to weaken that which supports our civilization, Protestantism and racial traditions. They never intended that a Church, assailing these and denying the principle of Government by the people, and theocratic in form and in spirit, should ever be permitted to encroach upon the fundamental principles of the Constitution under cover of one of its Articles or to establish a superstition which is in contravention of the progressive and enlightened ideas expressed in said Article. These deductions cannot be overturned by hypocritical declarations against bigotry or empty affirmations of loyalty.

These principles have been adopted by the U. S. Supreme Court and were enforced by our Government. They have found expression in the Monroe doctrine, in the laws enacted against Mormon polygamy, against the Chinese immigration, and for the regulation of immigration generally, and naturalization. According to these principles, recognized by all civilized nations and expressed in international law, every nation is justified in maintaining its civilization and, to this purpose, and for its own salvation, must claim and exercise the right to exclude, forcibly if necessary, all elements, institutions, organic bodies, and individuals not in harmony with the principles, purposes, and form of its government.

Every civilized nation recognized the right of Russia to exclude the Jews from her territory and to Russianize the Poles, by conquest acquired as subjects, because they were heterogenous elements in her economic, social, and political organism. The French Concordat expressly and carefully guarded against any interference by the Romish Church with the principles on which, since the revolution, French society rests. Furthermore, the principles, above

set forth, have been enforced by the Roman Catholic Church whenever it got possession of the temporal power or wherever the temporal or civil power, though separate from it, has been subordinate to it—in France at the time of the slaughter of the Waldenses, of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, of the revocation of the “Edict of Nantes,” and of the “Dragonades”; in the Netherlands during the reign of Phillip II; in Spain during the tortures for heresy, the burning at the stake under the Inquisition, and through the expulsion of the Moors and Jews. In all countries where Rome had or has the power, no school has been or is allowed to exist, nor is any one allowed to teach, unless first approved and permitted by her. We point here to the fate of the great Spanish educator Ferrer who a few years ago on the instigation of the priests was shot to death by order of courtmartial. In those cities of the United States over which Rome ruled or rules supreme, as for instance in New York, she has insistently through her political tools sought to direct the appointment of teachers. Many schools have been closed and teachers punished in Italy, Spain, Mexico, and in the South-American States, for attempting to go on teaching without her approval and permission. The Roman theocracy knows well that the only sure way to make the human mind accept the irrational dogmas and practices of the Romish Church, and give the priests absolute and despotic power over the minds and consciences of the communicants, is to twist, squeeze, compress, and distort the mind, while young and plastic, into the molds and forms prepared by the priests in the Middle Ages. Hence Cardinal Antonelli’s declaration that “the Catechism alone was essential for the education of the people.”

No Protestant Church was allowed in the Papal States; and even the ambassadors and foreign ministers resident, in order to have worship in their own respective faiths, were required to have their chapels either actually or constructively under their own roofs. The possession of a Bible, or of any book or pamphlet placed in the Prohibitory and Expurgatory indices by the Congregation of the Index, was punishable with long imprisonment or banishment. Of course the people of the Papal States could neither read nor write. In every country, whether monarchy or republic, where the Church has obtained the power, it has

excluded all other forms of worship, and made public worship in any other form than its own a crime severely punishable. Under the present Constitution of the Romish Church it cannot change these guiding and ruling principles, even if it would, for that would destroy the doctrine of infallibility and, it cannot refuse obedience to this doctrine, without ceasing to be itself and removing from its theocratic structure the crowning arch. Thus in the Papal States, in which the Romish Church possessed all the powers, spiritual and temporal, it carried into effect in all its consequences and with punitive hand the doctrine that governments have the right to exclude all elements and institutions not in harmony with the principles on which said governments are established.

The American people, following the example of the Papacy, are therefore justified, whenever the necessity arrives, to exclude from their territory the Romish Church, its hierarchy and priesthood, to withdraw the right of citizenship from all Roman Catholics, to regulate and prescribe public education in the spirit of the Reformation and of our race, and to enforce compulsory education in the public institutions on all children without distinction as to creed and descent.

Whether such extreme measures may be necessary, the nearest future must teach. If the Romish Church in this country remains what it is, theocratic in structure and mediæval in spirit, and subject to an infallible being; if it cannot be separated from the Papacy and from Jesuitism and become democratic in spirit and hence too in its constitution and administration, it must share the fate of another institution, which was foreign to our civilization and challenged the spirit of the age, slavery; or we must expect the priesthood to wage perpetual war upon our public schools, to make persistent attacks on the public treasury, to persevere in their attempts to control the civil power, and to jeopardize our rights and liberties until the ambitious designs of Leo XIII and of his successors and of the Jesuits are carried to success over the grave of the American democracy.

The school question is only a part of the greater question, how to withstand the settled design of Rome to conquer an Anglo-Saxon empire and nation, to overturn our democratic Government and to substitute her theocratic

despotism. It is part of the question whether our country shall be Celticized and Romanized and sink beneath the yoke of clericalism or whether it shall remain the home of a nation free of soul and standing upon the mountain top of opportunity.

Great issues in the life of nations must culminate before the masses are ripe to deal with them. The great issue of Guelf or Ghibelline, now before us, must also reach the culminating point before its final settlement can be attempted. Constitutional provisions and anti-clerical laws, through which Jesuitical cunning drives four-in-hand, secret societies and sporadic political efforts are measures well enough taken to sustain political agitation and to prevent a dormant condition of American society, allowing the theocratic power to steal upon the people unawares, but they suffice not to eradicate a cancerous growth which roots in the economic and social heresies of the age and is made virulent by the general demoralization of society. Like slavery, this cancerous growth must be extirpated by the surgeon's knife. Meanwhile our duty should be to locate and study all its connections with apparently healthy tissue, and to so regulate the patient's mode of life and health as to enable him to pass through the inevitable ordeal. *The slavocracy of the South was conquered because the generation of Northerners, called upon to fight the battles of democracy, was educated in schools in which Protestantism was a living, active, patriotic force.*

Protestantism, as a living, active, bold and aggressive force, as a patriotic, progressive, and humane power, must instil in the minds of our youth the courage of conviction and of holy passion which alone moves the masses to battle over matters spiritual and temporal and to strive for the prize of victory: spiritual freedom and a humane existence. First of all, we must reorganize our system of public education so that by a harmonious combination of teaching and investigation it will arouse all the affections of the heart and harvest the fruits of reason, develop a strong individuality and patriotic fervor, and prepare our youth to serve, in manhood, the common weal and not self and Baal. Otherwise Rome will seize full control of our system of education and use it for her evil purposes. Already voices are heard within the Romish Church which loudly call for a change in its policy in regard to our schools. It is pointed

out, that the policy of maintaining parochial schools is an error and, that the public school system and secular education, as now conducted and practiced, best prepare the way for Rome. Let us hear what the Reverend editor of the "Western Watchman," a prominent Catholic organ, has to say:

"There is to be a new alignment on the school question. The Faribault plan is no longer under discussion. The rallying cry is now 'Denominational education.' Archbishop Ryan, Archbishop Corrigan, Cardinal Gibbons, and Bishop Keane of the Washington University are the leaders in this new movement. In this conflict which is now upon us the 'Watchman' must stand alone. We are unalterably of the conviction that the denominational system is the very worst that could be devised. We have no hesitancy in stating that the present purely secular system is the very best that could be adopted. We cannot agree to a school fund (under a system of division to creeds), nine-tenths of which is to go for immoral purposes and one-tenth for a good and holy end. We might as well go the whole length. . . . There is no stopping once the denominational wedge is inserted. . . . The moment you recognize the denominational claim that moment you make a co-partnership in spirituals with the enemies of the faith. But if there were no objections to the system on moral grounds it would be most reprehensible on grounds of expediency. . . .

"We are so convinced of the truth and wisdom of our position that we would not hesitate to come out against all our former friends to defend it. We are well aware that the Holy Father and his august representative in this country are partial to the denominational system of education: but it shall not be our fault if they are not made aware of the ruinous disadvantages of the arrangement."

Other influential priests are of the same opinion as the editor of the "Watchman," that our present system of secular education which does not include the moral training of youth in the spirit of the Reformation and of our race, and permits the employment of monks and nuns, and of Roman Catholic teachers trained in the institutions of the Church or faithful to it, is much better adapted to the purposes of Rome than a system, under which the school fund would be divided among all denominations.

Of such a system of division the editor of the "Watchman" says: "It would give us ten Protestant bigots for every child receiving a knowledge of the catechism. It would give employment *to a hundred thousand ignorant and bigoted preachers* to disseminate their creeds and leave us to combat among grown people the lies the State has instilled in their minds in youth."

PART VIII

LEO XIII AND THE MODERN EVOLUTION OF THE PAPACY

CHAPTER I

PAPAL HOPE AND PAPAL DELUSION

SECTION I—INNOMINATO'S VISION

Bishop Cox of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in a letter to Mgr. Satolli says: "It is a well known fact, one recognized by all the European governments and the progressive element throughout Christendom, that the Vatican and therefore the Catholic Church is ruled by the most formidable political machine that ever disturbed the peace of nations. You represent a court, not a religion. The 'Society of Loyola,' which it is a sort of sacrilege to call the 'Society of Jesus,' became in a short time the 'Society of Laynez,' who, grasping the military system of the institution, turned it away from its original design into a society of conspirators for obtaining universal dominion over the monarchies of Europe. All the Roman Catholic governments were forced to expel the Jesuits as the first law of self-preservation. Finally they united in an appeal to Pope Clement XIV to suppress and abolish them on the ground that there would be no peace in Church or State so long as they were in existence. In language more intolerant of their crimes than any words of mine that good Pontiff abolished them accordingly. But infallibility is not infallible apart from Jesuit inspiration. They found means to restore themselves; and *here they are among us practicing on the defenseless features of our Constitution, which they only admire because it gives them every facility for destroying it.*"

When Clement XIV, who was one of the most liberal of Pontiffs, inspired by the true love of Christ, signed the bill abolishing the Order, he also signed his own death

warrant—a few days later he died of poison. The whole civilized world charged the “Order of Laynez” with the crime. The assassins fled to the vastness of Paraguay in South America, where to the world till then unknown, the Order had quietly reared a theocratic State and enslaved millions of the aborigines.

In all the political works of the modern Jesuit authors “von Hammerstein,” “Gury,” “Cathrein,” “Costa Rossetti,” etc., the doctrine of Papal temporal supremacy over all the governments of the earth is boldly advanced and defended as a divine law. Count Paul von Hoensbroech, a German Jesuit of an old Catholic family, who some time ago left the Order, in an article explanatory of his action and published in the *Preussische Jahrbuecher*, states that he continues steadfastly in the Christian faith, but that he has ceased to be a Catholic, because from the date of the adoption of the dogma of the infallibility Catholicism and Jesuitism became identical and inseparable THROUGH THE MODERN EVOLUTION OF THE PAPACY; that, as a German citizen, he could no longer remain a member of an Order and of a Church that aim at the destruction of his nationality and attempt a universal temporal dominion or despotism on the ruins of modern civilization.

Before the election of 1893 and the organization of the anti-Catholic movement in this country, when the repeated successes of the Democratic Party led the Roman Camarilla into the fatal error, that the American people had lost faith and manhood and that, on a soil saturated with corruption, the Upas tree of Papism had already become deeply rooted, the Jesuits set aside their almost reptile wariness and crowed loud and lustily over the rapid spread of Romanism in the United States. Swelled with exultation they disclosed their plans and ultimate purpose in a series of letters signed “Innominato” and published in the *New York Sun*, the official organ of the Romish-Irish hierarchy in this country and of Jesuitism generally.

“Innominato,” a German priest of great learning and a literary star of the first order, as the mouthpiece of Leo XIII was intrusted with a twofold mission—that of influencing the cultured in this country in favor of Jesuitism, and of disclosing to the Roman-Irish-American hierarchy the gigantic plans of the Vatican in reference to this country, that these somewhat shortsighted and sluggish gentlemen

whose diplomatic erudition is of the Corkonian and not of the Machiavellian kind, might perceive the pressing necessities of the Papacy, the dangers of a political character threatening it in Europe, and thoroughly understand the whole scope and purport of Monsignor Satolli's mission to the end that they should cease to badger the Italian prelate and diplomatist in a spirit of selfishness, of Irish arrogance and cussedness, or to oppose his authority. The ambitious, aye, towering plans of the Vatican were particularly disclosed in a correspondence dated Rome, June 8, 1893. Extracts from this most important communication, signed "Innominato," are as follows:

"When Leo XIII, induced by circumstances, set about studying the American question, he had two ideas: to contribute to the work of national unification, and to bring the Church in line with democracy and the institutions of the United States. This grand and noble design coincided with the memorable instructions which he issued for France, with his teachings on the social question and the organization of a new state of things. He found America on his route, like a luminous lighthouse on the shore of the immense ocean. There are mysterious and fruitful coincidences which decide the fate of a man and the destiny of a reign.

"The United States, *so thoroughly understood by the Pontiff*, furnish him with a model to look upon and to imitate, and also with an occasion for intervention, because in the United States it was his mission to maintain that which it was necessary to implant elsewhere. Let us not forget, therefore, that for every observer, *the American directions of the Holy Father are closely linked with the whole modern evolution of the Papacy.*

"Now, here is the last act of this international drama, of which the United States, in spite of themselves, have furnished the principal motive. When Leo XIII by the formation of a permanent apostolic delegation, affirmed his irrevocable design to bring about a reconciliation between the Church and democracy, the conservatives and the leaders of the opposition held on to a final hope. The Americans of the old school, the traducers of the intentions of the Pope, will perhaps be surprised at his designs; but the day has now arrived when the veils which hide the essence of the debate from the public must be torn away. When Mgr. Satolli submitted the Pope's instructions to the Arch-

bishops assembled in New York on the 16th of November last, the enemies believed that they had a favorable field to fight upon. . . .

"When, *as the envoy of the Pope*, Mgr. Ireland, Archbishop of Milwaukee, last year performed the delicate task of preaching to Frenchmen the love of the republic and of democracy, the friends of Rome proclaimed that the great Archbishop had advanced the triumph of European democracy by fifty years. . . . It was especially in France that they (Leo's opponents within the Church) looked for a rebound which would sever the bonds that linked her to the leading ideas of Leo XIII. (The elections in France succeeding this letter were such a rebound). . . .

"We are assured that Leo XIII, on becoming aware of all these transactions (meaning the intrigues and opposition of the Romish-Irish hierarchy in the United States against Mgr. Satolli), caused an inquiry to be made, and that his mind became fixed upon this campaign. What has he learned? I shall not attempt to find out. But the fact is indubitable, that Leo XIII will be henceforth inflexible and intractable. The battle is won. *It is certain that he will maintain all the rigor of his instructions and all the universality of his designs.* The last crisis has been passed through. That which was intended to weaken or to annihilate his policy, has only increased it by resistance, just as resistance increases the volume of the mountain torrents.

"Approaching events will reveal this immutable will of the Holy Father. To protect Mgr. Satolli: to lighten, according to the measure of his strength, the burden of his mission, to maintain and continue his line in regard to democracy and the school question in the United States; to second as much as possible for the general interests, the work of conciliation between the church, democracy, and the republic; to close the door to opponents, and to open it to faithful adepts; to enlarge, express more precisely, and follow without respite and without wavering his French instructions and his general policy, *such is his ideal, such is his invincible design.* Woe to those who would try to oppose it! The patience of Leo XIII is great, but it has its bounds. Things and men must bow before his irrevocable firmness.

"And the reason is that the soul of the great Pontiff is made of iron. When men lay hands upon *his historical*

ideas, when they seek to bend the straight lines of his system, and to squander his *political* and intellectual patrimony, his mildness is turned into determination. Touch not that sanctuary!

"In the second place Leo XIII has the vision of the future. He loves the United States as one might love an ideal, when fortunate enough to believe in an ideal and to fight for it alone.

"Behind the worm-eaten construction of the past, beyond the horizon of the present day, he gazes upon the edifice of the future, the horizon of the morrow. He considers himself the promulgator of this civilization of the future; and, as the United States furnish him with a comparison and with material for incitation, he has an imperishable attachment for the particular work which he is carrying on across the ocean.

"History will one day tell all the truth about this intellectual and moral affiliation which exists between the American policy of Leo XIII and the evolution of the Papacy in the Old World.

"Leo XIII and the United States! What a beautiful chapter I would wish to write one day upon that subject, with my faith, my admiration, and my heart!"

SECTION II

The Dogma of the Infallibility and Clerical Absolutism. When the Jesuits conceived the dogma of the infallibility they were moved by two powerful considerations. They recognized the fact that the spirit of skepticism of the Nineteenth century arose from the progress in science and, therefore, cannot be suppressed by inquisitorial means or measures enacted as laws by the temporal authorities because the results of scientific research have entered into all the walks of life and have become an indispensable part thereof, benefiting individuals and society. That which has become an organic part of the life-blood of nations cannot be destroyed without causing convulsions of the body politic, endangering its very existence and even that of the agencies of extermination.

It was, therefore, necessary to present to the masses, as yet unable to clearly distinguish between the natural and the supernatural, a doctrine effectually counteracting the results of scientific research on the reasoning faculties of

the masses before the logical deductions of these results and their splendor had taken hold of the imagination and of reason to such a degree as to destroy in the masses all belief in the supernatural. Could the idea of the earthly existence of an infallible being be instilled in the minds of the people who daily witnessed the demonstrations of science, the ethical effect of these demonstrations on the masses might not only be neutralized, but they could be proclaimed the outpouring of the omnipotent and omniscient Supreme being personified and visible in the Pontiff. The dogma of the infallibility was proclaimed as an antidote against the inroads of scientific research to fortify the Papacy.

In an age of revolutionary surprises, of economic and social progress, of individualism, and of irresistible democratic assertions, a theocratic institution, subject to the decrees of councils or assemblages constitutional in conception and possibly democratic in character, was open to attack at any time and in danger of disruption by agencies already in existence or apt to be developed. Since the enforcement of celibacy the Church had gradually lost its democratic character. Nevertheless, it maintained in its organization as a constituent part thereof and, nominally, as its supreme governing body, the ecumenical Council. For centuries this parliamentary body had been manipulated by the Jesuits to enhance Papal authority and to centralize the Church's government. Yet, by its very composition, the Council was more or less subject to influences hostile or inimical to the Papacy; its members were more or less subservient to the princes and peoples under whose authority they lived and from whom their temporalities were derived. The Papacy could not be entirely independent so long as a popular assembly, whereof a majority might defy the Pope, regulated matters of doctrine and discipline, or claimed the authority to do so. In countries, in which the State paid the expenses of the Church, including the salaries of its clergy and hierarchy, and the appointments to the benefices were regulated by a Concordat, or laws enacted by Parliament, the prelates might place their interests above those of the Papacy and vote for measures of great political import foreign to the purposes of the Papal court or of the Jesuits. In republican or democratic countries in which the Church has no legal or exceptional status and is in fact and to all purposes a private institution, dependent on the pleasure

and support of a fickle populace, the incentive to independent action by the Prelates was ever more powerful, and so long as they remained within the canon law and commanded the confidence and fealty of their flock, the Papal court had not the means to discipline them.

The elections of Popes were more or less influenced by the Great Powers under covenants which were binding on the electors living under the jurisdiction of these powers or appointed by them or with their consent. A theocratic structure of which the head is not clothed with the attributes of Deity, that is with absolute power and infallibility, is an anomaly, a structure without a crowning arch, an army without an independent commander. The proclamation of the dogma of the infallibility, and its acceptance by the faithful, removed all these unfavorable conditions and changed the Papacy from an elective constitutional monarchy into an absolute despotism, with a succession entirely under the control of the Papal court. *This has been the evolution of the Papacy, the establishment of a clerical absolutism.*

CHAPTER II

LEO XIII

Future historians will place Leo XIII on a plane with the great Popes who inaugurated a new Papal policy, with Leo III, Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Sixtus V. He is one of the few statesmen of historical times who had prescience of the great evolutions of mankind and attempted in their lifetime so to shape the economic, social, and political institutions of their people or race as to make the transitional period one of little friction and least destructive to vested interests and to the organic bodies that were the beneficiaries thereof. To Leo's subtle mind it was apparent that in the course of nature the present social order is doomed, that before many generations have passed into eternity the human race under the leadership of the Teutonic nations will make one of those gigantic strides which in the history of mankind have always been preceded by economic and social chaos and accompanied by terrible convulsions.

Placed at the head of a theocratic institution, which has outlived a thousand years and is one of the three most wonderful institutions of the world, Leo XIII found himself, so far as the execution of his plans for a reorganization of society was concerned, in a peculiar position, with few of the political chances of success enjoyed by Leo III and Gregory VII, and face to face with economic and social conditions entirely different from those which made the policy of Sixtus V possible. It is a hereulean task in the age of science and democracy both to assail the power of the vested interests of centuries growth and to trample down the liberties of the people.

Leo III established the political Papacy, Gregory VII the Roman theocracy, Innocent III the political supremacy of the Pontiff, and Sixtus V the political supremacy of the Latin race. Each lived in an age when faith in the supernatural was general and adhered to by all civilized nations and classes of society. Therefore, they had a proper substratum for their structures. Leo XIII lived in the age of

science, in which society as a unit no longer rests on faith in the supernatural nor believes the social order to be of divine origin. The educational influences of an age in which science denies the divine origin of the Universe and a divine purpose in its government, an age, in which the question is no longer whether the Pope shall rule in Rome but whether God shall rule in Heaven, are not propitious to a reorganization of society as Leo XIII foresaw it in his creative mind, and for which he had been shaping the Papal policy since he entered the succession of St. Peter.

Vincenzo Giachimo Count Pecci, Pope Leo XIII, was of dual character, of an odd elementary composition, illustrating certain phases of the intellectual, economic, and political progress of the last century, an aristocratic revolutionist and a revolutionary priest. Intellectually and passionately *Count Pecci* represented an epoch of transition in the spiritual and political life of the Latin race and especially of his people, an epoch which commenced with the French revolution and ended with the revolutionary movement of 1848. As *Pope*, Count Pecci represented the traditions of ten centuries, theocracy and the policy of *non possumus*.

He passed through youth and early manhood when Austria was the great external adversary of Italian independence, an alp pressing the national soul; when his nation was struggling under the despotism of the Bourbons, was rent by factional discords, perfidious princes, and the partisans of absolutism; when young Italy was striving for national unity and a nebulous ideal, a federation of all nations, in which all were to live in the same relations as the individuals in a family or the families in a city, and in a sphere of morals, in which each nation would renounce its own selfish desires for the sake of that general good which is the goal of all humane endeavor. A majority of the Italian nobility and of the priests were heart and soul in this movement. It did not assail class interests or vested rights, but it assailed a system of government which stifled all patriotic emotions, *subordinated the privileges of the nobility and priesthood, and it opposed the political ambitions of the Papacy*. Metternich's policy had reduced the Papacy to dependence on his system, to a police agency for the taming of the intellect and of popular passion. It is a historical fact that Pius IX was a member of the revolutionary society *Il Carbonari*, which before Mazzini's advent

represented young Italy, her hopes and aspirations. The Papacy and the priesthood suffered as much under Metternich's system as the nobility and the middle class of Italy.

Count Pecci grew up in the political school of young Italy. Born a nobleman, the son of a general of Napoleon, and reared under the influences of the Church, his ideas of spiritual, political, and national liberty were, of course, encompassed by the traditions of his caste and restricted by the social necessities of a theocracy, therefore, could not include democratic possibilities and economic changes, or assail the order of society, though they might be in constellation with the nebulous ideals of a revolutionary movement with the watchword "God and the people," the people meaning the upper and middle classes whose traditions and interests were in the direction of the traditions and interests of the Roman priesthood. With the advent of Mazzini as the leader of young Italy and of the revolutionary movement in Europe there came also a change in the political program of young Italy. Mazzini was the prophet of a social order more just, free, and spiritual. Though he did not advocate economic or social changes, or assail class interests and faith in the supernatural, yet, the execution of his program, aiming at a universal brotherhood, based on reason, equality, and humanity, was only possible on the ruins of a society, in which greed, mutual suspicion, class interests, hereditary privileges, and superstition were the ruling factors. Of course, a readjustment of the revolutionary elements became a necessity. While the radicals attached themselves to the new leader, adopted his program, and insisted uncompromisingly on a unified republic, a considerable part of young Italy, while aspiring for unity and freedom, remained favorable to a monarchical government or to a federation.

Brought up during a revolutionary epoch and surrounded by revolutionary elements, educated to the priesthood while the Church was enslaved by monarchical powers of the old régime and made the tool of Metternich's absolutism, Count Pecci became absorbed in the vague ideals of young Italy and lost sight of the relations which racial ethics and traditions sustain to the facts and phenomena in the life of nations. As a priest and nobleman he was engulfed in the intense hatred of monarchical power which Metternich's gluttonous dynastic system called forth and, therefore,

failed to perceive that the humiliating position of the Catholic Church as a tool of monarchical greed and passion was made possible only because the Church was nothing but another such system of oppression under which not only Europe but the largest part of Christendom had for centuries languished. The fundamental principles of Count Pecci's Papal policy were evolved from the nebulous clouds of revolutionary and humane sentiment and of political transcendentalism which during the second quarter of the last century were rising on the political horizon of the Latin race and especially of the Italians.

In the seclusion of his episcopate at Perugia, Count Pecci conceived and formulated the policy through which as Leo XIII he attempted to combine the ideals of his youth with the experiences of manhood, the aims of an enlightened age with the traditions of the Papacy, a policy in conception and direction almost identical with the creation of Napoleon's versatile genius. Leo XIII has enlarged the Napoleonic idea of the supremacy of the Latin race under a military dictatorship into the spiritual and political supremacy of the Latin Church under the infallible Pontiff. Leo XIII intended to enter into the political inheritance of the great Corsican, with whose intellectual and political development his own has many points in common. Like Napoleon he ripened intellectually, ethically, and politically in a revolutionary age and retained the impressions of youth, of all the phases of the revolutionary movements. With his rise in the social scale and military hierarchy the revolutionist in Napoleon's dual nature succumbed to the condottieri. When he mounted the throne he wove the ideals of his youth and the ambitions of his soul into a whole, in which the latter were the groundwork and the ideals the deceptive decorations. As Pope, Count Pecci attempted to weave a new religious-social-economic system from the priestly traditions of ten centuries and the demonstrations of science with the *Pontifex Maximus* as the central figure.

Leo XIII, like Napoleon, was apparently one of those historical characters that made their own abilities the sole measure of their policy and therefore failed in the essentials. Like Napoleon, he intended to lay the foundation of a new social order on the supposition that men can be governed by imagination and the passion for glory, be it in this world or in the hereafter. "Society," Napoleon said, "cannot

exist without inequality of fortune, and inequality of fortune cannot exist without religion. A man does not get himself killed for a few cents a day or for a paltry distinction; you must speak to the soul in order to electrify the man." Napoleon established a military system of government for the protection of the classes, reserving to the masses a sham sovereignty and equal opportunities to labor, and to die on the battlefield for the benefit of the classes, for the glory of Cæsar and that of a military funeral. *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus*, either Cæsar or nobody, was his motto—*Aut Pontifex, aut nullus*, either the pontiff or nobody, was that of Leo XIII. He intended to establish a theocratic system of government on the broad foundation of a pseudo-democracy for the protection of the classes, also reserving to the masses a sham sovereignty and equal opportunities to labor and to be crushed under the iron heel of industrialism for the benefit of the classes, for the glory of the *Pontifex Maximus* and of a life in the hereafter.

As a temporal ruler Count Pecci might have become the saviour of the Latin race, the master spirit in the process of its regeneration, the leader in its advance toward the humane. He might have placed the passions and the high intellectual qualities of the race and the higher ideals of his soul and the superb products of his mind in a crucible and amalgamated them into a social system adapted to the Latin race and consistent with the demands of humanity.

Unfortunately Count Pecci, the statesman and humanitarian, was a priest and the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The ambitious designs which had ripened in his mind, the humane sentiments of his heart, the ideal conceptions of his soul were contorted by the weight of the Tiara. Therefore, the creations of his mind can hardly be in harmony with the present condition of the Latin race and applicable thereto; they can never be in harmony with the moral nature and the traditions of the Teuton race, or applicable to its economic and social institutions because these are evolved from nature while Leo's creations must rest upon superstition and an artificial structure, a monstrosity;—theocracy. When Leo XIII undertook to carry out the Napoleonic schemes for the coercion of the Teuton race, had Count Pecci considered the fate of the Corsican?

When Cardinal Count Pecci mounted the Papal throne he found the civilized world in a state of social unrest, all

authority and the principles of government by divine grace assailed, the social order and the Papacy threatened, the cause of democracy rapidly progressing, and a spirit of negation generally prevailing as to matters spiritual and temporal. Unmindful of the fact that the Catholic Church had achieved its greatest triumphs while it was a republic thoroughly imbued with the spirit of democracy, the Papacy had upheld the monarchical system and class rule and had condemned the principles of democracy. Consequently with the progress of democracy the power of the Papacy was correspondingly reduced.

The ascendancy of the Protestant House of Hohenzollern, the decline in political power of the Latin race, the apparently firm establishment of the French Republic, the vitality and force of socialism and its rapid spread amongst the masses in the Latin countries, and the impossibility of damming the current of infidelity flowing from the inexhaustible source of scientific research, convinced Leo XIII that the Papacy and the theocratic structure of his Church and with these the social order were in jeopardy unless it were possible to direct the mighty volume of intellectual forces and revolutionary passion, engendered by the union of Protestantism and science, into artificial channels, the flow of which the Church could control. Leo XIII also recognized the fact that the political supremacy of the Latin race was a thing of the past and that it was but a question of time when the Slavs or the Germans should secure the undisputed hegemony in Europe. In either case the Papacy would be assailed and driven out of Europe.

In our days of overflowing democracy, it was therefore quite natural that Leo XIII should have considered the possibility, and made it the basis of all his political calculations, to prolong the life of the Papacy, to extend its influence and to augment its power by a policy aiming at the control of the democratic current for the protection of the class interests created by Industrial Feudalism, and consequently enforcing the allegiance of such interests to the Papacy in all countries, in every sect, and under all circumstances.

The modern Papacy is an institution independent of all the agencies, the totality of which is called modern civilization. The modern Papacy may be compared with the piratical State of the freebooters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries, or with the Condottieri of the Middle Ages

who sold their prowess to the highest bidder, the latter, of course, always being of the classes, because the poor and downtrodden had not the gold to pay for the services of mercenaries. It has been a part of the ambitious design of Leo XIII to offer the services of the Papacy, of its clerical condottieri, and of their cohorts of ignorant and fanatical followers to International Capitalism for the political repression of the masses and the obstruction of the humanizing process of Protestantism and of the age. When Count Pecci entered into the succession of St. Peter and the Vatican as the head of the Roman theocracy he left behind his individuality, the sympathies of his heart, and the ideals of his soul. As Pope he personified the spirit of superstition, of intolerance, of persecution that has been the curse of mankind, has divided Christendom, and, like Judas, betrayed the Lord. When Count Pecci had reached the object of his priestly ambition, the Papal throne, he may have cherished the thought, as his predecessors did, to repel Jesuitism and to idealize the theocratic structure of his Church. Like his predecessors he experienced on the Papal throne the force of traditions and environments and of the law of nature that all parts of a living organism must adapt themselves to the functions of the whole. He found the spirit that had quickened and for centuries sustained the theocratic organism of the Church stronger than the individual will of the wisest and most humane of men, and that now as in the past the Vicar of Christ has to choose between submission or the fate of Clement XIV.

CHAPTER III

THE EVOLUTION OF POPE LEO'S POLICY

Leo XIII has been the first Pope to profit from the evolution of the Papacy. While the Papal throne was sustained by French bayonets and during the revolutionary period following the evacuation of Rome, the Papacy was not in a position to profit from the change in its hierarchical and political status and correspondingly to change its policy. Moreover Pius IX had not the greatness of intellect and decision of character to formulate a new policy or to carry it to success.

From the Reformation to the death of Pius IX, the Papal policy had supported absolute monarchy and privileged aristocracy and had taught the masses obedience and submission. When the French revolution and the rising spirit of nationality substituted representative for autocratic government, the Church's political creed remained unaltered and was only so far modified as to recognize the moneyed power and the third estate as tolerable additions to the circle of the privileged and to support *reservatio mentalis* the forms of representative government where its tendency was not democratic or revolutionary and left the social status of the masses virtually unchanged. The Church held the principle of nationality to be an effervescence of political idealism and the principle of democracy of Satanic origin. The first could not be tolerated by the Church because it assailed the temporal power of the Papacy and the second was thought to be irreconcilable with its very existence. The Church regarded all Liberals and Democrats as natural enemies to the order in which it flourished and had no more mercy for them than the Spanish inquisitors had for heretics.

Jesuitical policy in modern times started from the conclusion or rather delusion that the Roman theocracy could be permanently anchored in the swift-flowing, bottomless stream of time. So long as the Catholic masses were held in ignorance, superstition, and poverty, so long as the old

régime in its essentials and the political equilibrium as then existing could be maintained in Europe, resisting all changes in the social system, this policy was wise and might have been successful for an indefinite period but for the defeat of France in 1870 and the subsequent transfer of the hegemony in Europe from the Latin to the Teutonic race, which changed at once the economic and social status of the Papacy and neutralized the political effects of the dogma of the infallibility. The unification of Germany, and the military and political dependence of Catholic Austria on her Protestant neighbor foreshadowed the doom of the Papacy in Europe. The unification of Italy, the downfall of the old régime, and the destruction of the temporal power of the Papacy left it at the mercy of the Protestant Central Power of Europe or of the Slavic Pope in St. Petersburg. The French Republic had been set up and shaped by men who object to the altar as much as they object to the throne.

While thus the supports of the Papacy in Europe gave way one by one, new ideas, quickened in the womb of science, were brought forth and rapidly developed. These in their totality were named socialism for want of an exact and essential definition, a definition too that shall not be forthcoming until these ideas shall have matured and adapted themselves to the intellectual and spiritual life of nations and to their racial conditions and ethical traditions. Yet, their fancy imbued the masses in Europe with a truer conception of democracy and inspired them with a revolutionary fervor of such aggressiveness and uncompromising hostility to throne, altar, and Mammon that Church and State, and the order upon which they rest, are equally in danger.

When the first signs of an almost irrepressible and certainly titanic conflict between the masses and the classes had become clearly discernible, Leo XIII mounted the Papal throne and broke with all the political traditions of the Papacy and reversed its policy.

To Leo XIII it appeared indisputable that so far as the Latin nations are concerned the doctrine of government by Divine right, Legitimacy, could not lastingly be sustained by bayonets or the reactionary influences of the Church. France was already republican; Spain, Italy, and Portugal might follow her example at any moment. Russia, under all forms of government, must assail the Papacy, while

Germany, whatever might be her social and political conditions, will remain Protestant in spirit and in political character. A nation, so thoroughly imbued with militarism and the ethics of the Reformation that all classes are filled with the sense of duty to the commonwealth manifested in an *esprit de corps* of remarkable exaction, cannot be lastingly affected by the corrupting influences of Parliamentarism, of industrialism and materialism, and of demagoguery, even in a possible democratic organization of society, because the masses are disciplined to obey the dictates of reason and to subordinate themselves to their superiors in intellect and learning.

In the past the Hohenzollern adapted themselves to all political conditions. It is, therefore, possible that so long as their policy shall be made to correspond with the social phenomena of the Reformation and the traditions of the Teuton race they may maintain their hold on the affections of the German people. Moreover, the hold of the word "republic" over the imaginations of mankind has not increased of late years, particularly not with the Germans, having republican France as its neighbor, with no evidence that democracy and monarchy are inherently incompatible. Therefore, it appeared to Leo XIII just as probable that after the next great European war the Hohenzollern might be at the head of a Protestant democracy as that Germany should be transformed into a bourgeois republic or an anarchical body made up of tumultuous communes.

The pro-Roman Irish national movement, the pro-Roman tendency within the Established Church of England, the mediocracy of her statesmen, the political corruption of the Parliament, the moral and physical degeneration of her aristocracy, the growth of democratic sentiment in the lower strata of society, and all those economic and social causes through which after a long period of prosperity all exclusively commercial and industrial empires decline, apparently indicated that Papal advances might find a favorable response in England.

These political deductions, the impressions of youth and manhood, the pressing necessities of the Papacy, and historically supported considerations on the moral condition and fate of democracies, moved Leo XIII to change the Papal policy of a thousand years.

The ancient democracies succumbed to rot and were suc-

ceeded by a despotism of one kind or another. The foundation of every democracy is the condition of equality of all citizens in opportunities to attain the economic and intellectual qualifications absolutely necessary for a proper exercise of citizenship. In ancient times slavery and conquest destroyed the foundation. In modern democracies the forces of industrialism are a dissolvent because the change in the political system took place without a corresponding change or advancement in the intellectual, social and economic conditions of the masses to insure equality. The new political order was grafted on the economic and social order of hereditary monarchy and class rule. Thus, for example, in republican France the social order of the old régime was retained and consequently she is only nominally a democracy, the masses remaining economically dependent and therefore politically dependent. It is only a change in the form of government, lacking, however, all the essentials of a true democracy. In the United States the people enjoyed equal opportunities until the change from pastoral life to industrialism was made, when all the conditions securing to the generality of the people equality in opportunities and the essentials of citizenship were also changed and class rule gradually superseded the government by the people for the people.

Virtue and wisdom are the qualifications for government. Under a government of Divine origin and hereditary in its character it matters little, so far as the stability and the issues of government are concerned, whether these qualifications are actual or presumptive. In the latter case errors may be corrected by succeeding administrations because the source of power as of Divine origin, or held by the people to be such, cannot be corrupted. The structure of the State being by strata of slow formation and therefore of great adhesion, the stability thereby secured diminishes the evil effects of misgovernment. Moreover, under a monarchical form of government the intellectual part of the people is virtually the governing body and, therefore, the acts of government are less likely to be wanting in wisdom, whatever their virtue may or may not be. It matters not whether the form of government is constitutional or personal, whether the franchise is universal or restricted, because the structure of society does not permit a licentious use of power by officials or by the representative body of the classes. Not-

withstanding the moral and political shortcomings of the second Napoleonic empire the *Corps legislatif*, though a subservient body of petty politicians and adventurers moving in the foul atmosphere of a thoroughly corrupted court and society, never degenerated as to wisdom, political morals, and deportment in the manner witnessed in republican France, in whose government the immoral passions of the classes, wanting in the humane, and the intellectual defects of the masses, failing in a true conception of social possibilities, find exclusive expression. While it is possible to establish by decree a republican form of government, it is not possible thus to create a democracy. This must be of slow and natural growth since thus alone is guaranteed the intellectual and moral elevation of the masses to a plane on which the sense of duty is fully developed and the humane becomes the only guide in the affairs of State.

Surrounded by favorable conditions the people of the Northern part of our Republic had passed through nearly all the stages of economic and social evolution necessary to reach the condition of equality in opportunities and of intellectual development, promising a gradual and steady progress in general culture, in ethics, and in political preferment to an almost ideal democracy. Unfortunately the civil war and the sudden change in the economic conditions of the people not only neutralized the achievements of a century (dated from the capture of Louisburg) but also destroyed the landmarks by which the people were to be guided in the orderly pursuit of happiness. Looking backward, reviewing the present, and peering into the future the conviction is almost irrepressible that in 1861 it might have been better for the American democracy of the North to have accepted the advice of Horace Greeley to let the South depart in peace. When future generations shall have placed this philosopher and statesman on the plane of patriotism and humane endeavor on which his fame will rest in history, they will also recognize that his fears were prophetic of the events and conditions which have reduced the great American democracy from a vast, compact, and victoriously forward moving host to a struggling, aimless mass of individuals, striving for the retention of the outward signs of liberty and wasting their energies in the fight for the survival of the fittest.

In a republic, in which equality in opportunities has not

been secured, and under a democratic form of government, when such equality has been lost, the masses are without a proper conception of their condition, needs, and possibilities, and are, therefore, lacking in cohesion and fixed purposes, and become dependent on the political virtues and wisdom of the classes. Obeying a law of nature, the masses at first accepted in the exercise of citizenship the guidance of their superiors in possessions and social station. With the growth of industrialism and the subsequent rapid growth in wealth of the classes and of the few, a gradual severance of the social relations until then existing between all classes of the people took place and mutual distrust was engendered, approaching by degrees a total disruption of all political relations and creating an ever enlarging gulf in political ethics and requirements between the rich and the poor. When industrialism developed into industrial feudalism and Capitalism, the masses gradually discovered that under the changed economic conditions the newly created classes were practicing under new forms the same spoliation even with less regard to the general welfare and to the most ordinary precepts of humanity, as the privileged classes did in Europe under the old régime. With the cognition of this truth the masses suffered themselves to be captured by demagogues who delivered them into the hands of the philistines and of the highest bidders amongst the despoilers of the people. Then the present period of economic and social corruption set in which in intensity and spread can only be compared to that in the history of ancient Rome when "bread and games," *Panem et Circenses*, was the pathetic cry of the Roman populace.

In France this degraded condition of the masses and classes found expression in official corruption, in the reelection of the rogues responsible for the Panama scandal, in the tumultuous and disgraceful deportment of Parliament, in exceptional laws, in the anarchical condition of society, in the blind hatred of foreigners and in the chauvinistic spirit of revenge, in the pilgrimages to Lourdes, and in the introduction of brutal sports. In the United States it finds expression in the corruption of political parties, in the chase after the almighty dollar, in the apathy of all classes undisturbed by the disclosure of the deepest cesspools of official depravity, and in the insane support of all kinds of sport which has devel-

oped into a national malady. There must be something radically wrong in the intellectual and ethical condition of a people, who stamp the brutal football games of " 'varsity crews" as events of national import and honor professional baseball players with triumphant receptions such as are due only to benefactors of mankind or heroes and saviours of nations. It is only too apparent that a period of disintegration of civilized society, except where checked by special agencies, has set in, the logical effect of grafting industrialism and the results of science on a social order of passed ages in which feudalism and preternaturalism prescribed the conditions of society. This very process of grafting has caused the masses to be lapped like sheep in the fold of the classes, and these too become morally irresponsible in all countries under a nominally republican or democratic government.

As an historical character that absorbed, reflected and utilized all the currents of life of his time, Leo XIII had been deeply impressed with the fact that modern society has only confused notions of the principle of good and evil and has reached through the discussion of subtleties, a point, where it can no longer establish a distinction between truth and sophism, and while Christianity and Teuton civilization have long ago eradicated from among the most advanced peoples the outward forms of primeval idolatry, yet the spirit from which it proceeded remains an essential element of human nature, and finds many ways of expressing itself.

Leo XIII perceived that the modern social and religious tendencies are not in the direction of a perfection of the masses with respect to moral and political qualities and, therefore, will not result in the elevation of the ignorant, credulous, and suffering crowd ever anxious for life under any and all conditions and yet like a docile flock driven by its master, silently and patiently waiting with the innocent faith of the child for the deliverer and for a humane existence. He could not fail to perceive the striking fact that at this time of religious skepticism and the growth of a demand for scientific demonstrations destructive of faith in the supernatural there is also and simultaneously a widespread revival of religious faith and in the Catholic Church a reassertion of superstitious credulity found only in the lowest stage of intellectual development. With the exception of Germany this revival has spread over the civilized

world. It is a feverish, emotional excitement which has seized not only the ignorant in Catholic, but also many in Protestant, countries, where it manifests itself in ritualism, in the organization of monastic orders, and in the doctrines of the actual divine presence in the ordinances of religion.

This excitement is undoubtedly a symptom of a disease in an exhausted society, caused by its coercion into an order which has outlived its usefulness and is no longer adapted to the requirements of modern culture and refuses to apply to its organization the intellectual acceptances of the demonstrations of science. It is a symptom of a general derangement of heads and hearts, "eines allgemeinen moralischen and physischen Katzenjammers" (of a moral and social all-wretchedness) which drives the weak of mind into anarchism or to childlike faith. It is a sign of an approaching upheaval of society, like the religious excitement in the fourteenth century which was also a disease of the imagination produced by unhealthy social conditions. Then the fanatical sect of the flagellants and the pilgrimages *en masse* were the first convulsions of a dying social organism. To Leo XIII it may have appeared more than probable that under a continuance of the present social conditions the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to Lourdes are rather the precursors of armies of sansculotts than a sign of a return of the masses to the absolute faith of the dead centuries. It is true that the advance made by violent opinions is certainly less great than it often appears, but the growth of their power is none the less threatening because it persuades, intimidates, or at least neutralizes all undecided minds.

It is an historical fact, demonstrated by every revolution, that with the growth of social abuses the moral courage of the beneficiaries thereof decreases and thus the class interested in the maintenance of society becomes by degrees less able to resist the encroachments of new ideas and the assaults by the abused. The power of resistance possessed by the classes is not weakened by their advancement in the humane but by the consciousness of collective guilt. They are subject to that feeling which seizes the fugitive from justice and delivers him to justice. It is the consciousness of guilt which leads to ill-considered measures and ill-timed persecutions, alienating friends and making enemies. It is that feeling of which the great German poet Schiller says

in the closing lines of one of his tragedies, "Life is not the highest gift of nature, Guilt though is the greatest of all evils."

It has been the divine mission of Christ to instill into society this consciousness of collective guilt; before it did not exist. It alone made the advancement in the humane possible; without it the strong would have always suppressed the weak. The more the human race advanced in culture, the more the individual became dependent on his neighbor, on society, on collective action, the more also was the consciousness of collective guilt able to exert itself. It is of direct and reflex action and thus explains the sudden collapse of society when apparently yet firmly knit. The sense of collective righteousness was evolved from the Reformation as its greatest achievement; it finds constant nourishment in the acceptances of the demonstrations of science, and will become the political sense of society whenever the new social ideas, born of science, shall, under the light of Christ's sermon on the Mount, have ripened in the human mind.

For the salvation of the Papacy and society Leo XIII conceived the idea to relieve the classes of the consciousness of guilt. To this purpose, he probably thought it necessary to treat the masses well, to give them, as sheep, good pasturage and shelter, that they should not be neglected or abused, or wantonly killed under the iron heel of industrialism. In Leo's mind the intellectual, moral, and material condition of the masses should be made like unto those of the South American Indians in Paraguay under the dominion of the Jesuit fathers, a multitude of obedient subjects, an ignorant, superstitious, and stolid mass without sufficient intelligence to comprehend their true position and to claim their inheritance, and of such a dwarfed moral nature, that the Church could always control their spiritual and worldly desires, their votes and their physical force. To counteract the effects of collective righteousness, in order that the sheep may fatten undisturbed in the pasture of faith, Leo XIII contemplated an amalgam of the truths of the Bible, of the results of scientific research, and of immutable tradition, and to apply it to the contingencies and the needs of modern times, and to force the ardent desires of a new generation into the strait-jacket of theocracy under the universal dominion of the infallible Pope.

PART IX

CHRISTIAN UNION, PAPAL AMBITION, AND THE PROTESTANT MASSES

CHAPTER I

The Aims of Leo XIII. The controlling purposes of the Pontificate of Leo XIII were:

1. The aim to effect a permanent union between the Catholic Church and the republican institutions in France, thus to restore the political supremacy of the Latin race in Europe and the temporary power of the Papacy.

2. The aim to reunite all the sects of Christendom in one universal Church and thus array the strongest religious forces of the world for the repression of democracy on behalf of class rule and of those rights of property, on which the whole structure of modern society rests, and thereby to enlist the moneyed and privileged powers of the world in the support of the Papacy and to prevent its expulsion from Rome and Europe.

3. *The aim to transform the great American Republic into a dependency of the Papacy that eventually it may transfer its seat to Washington or one of the dependencies of the United States.*

Reviewing the political relations of the Papacy in Europe, it was pointed out why the alliance entered into between Leo XIII, Asiatic Russia, and republican France failed of its purposes. This failure also brought about the failure of the political bargain into which Leo XIII had entered with the French Opportunists and Moderates in relation to the internal affairs of France. When Bismarck's foreign policy was reëstablished in Berlin and the war for revenge had been indefinitely postponed, these French politicians, who are the principal professional traders in France and as slippery as the Jesuits, had no more use for his Holiness or his policy. When Leo XIII entered into this bargain, he remembered that Pius IX had been brought back from his exile at Gaeta by the French republic in 1848. It was,

therefore, reasonable to suppose that the third French republic might render a similar service and restore to Leo XIII the *Patrimonium Petri*, provided he would support the rascally politicians who fattened on the opportunities which the anarchical condition of French society offered for pelf. The Pope further expected concessions in the school question, and a modification of the educational laws through which a systematic war against all religion is carried on.

Leo XIII failed, because he erred in his judgment of the French. While the Catholic faith is held by a much greater proportion of the people in France than in any country of the first rank of political importance, yet, the French are not Ultramontane but Gallican. The French Catholics have always been Frenchmen first and then Catholics, and since the war of 1870 they are so intensely French that, if the Pope were a German, his spiritual authority over France would be in great peril. This sentiment of the French and the Huguenot element, all powerful in the administration, prevented the realization of Leo's true purpose of building up in France a strong Catholic party on the lines of the Great Catholic party, the "Centrum," in Germany and thus to use France for the Papal schemes in Europe. The French love no other people except the French, and while they were willing to accept Rome's assistance in the war for revenge they were not willing to accept her service in a matter so entirely political as the choice of a form of government or the election of French Deputies.

His Holiness, though infallible, made a mistake when he entered into such a bargain, which turned out a jug-handled bargain, all on one side. Politically, the interference of Leo XIII in French affairs in 1893 turned out as disastrously as that of the Pope in 1572, on the night of the St. Bartholomew festival. Financially it had even more disastrous results. The French royalists have always been the main financial support of the Papacy since it refused the financial allocation offered by Italy. When Leo XIII exhorted the faithful French to support republican institutions, the Royalists stopped their Peter's Pence offerings. At the same time the Papal treasury had been robbed of millions of dollars by dishonest Vatican officials. Therefore the Pope had to seek new financial sources. This is now one of the duties of our Deputy-Popes. It was a fine aim

which Leo XIII set himself in France. But to overcome the accumulated tendencies and allay the antagonism of a century, was a herculean task, and the failure of it turned the thoughts of His Holiness and of his successor more strongly towards the Western Hemisphere. The more so, because, like Sixtus V, the Popes now must accumulate vast treasures to carry out their ambitious designs.

CHAPTER II

Leo's Spiritual Will and Testament. In an encyclical, addressed not to the Bishops and clergy, or even to the Catholic community at large, but "*principes populusque universi*"—"to the princes and peoples of the earth," Leo XIII called on all Christians to unite in a universal Church of which the Pope should be the head. The epistle may be regarded as the spiritual will and testament of the man who changed the Papal policy and set aside the traditions of centuries.

Undoubtedly Leo XIII was convinced that the times were ripe, or soon would be, for the political coöperation of all men interested in the maintenance of society and calling themselves Christians against revolutionary teachings which in Leo's opinion threaten the destruction alike of religion and society. The necessity of such a combination against so-called anti-social forces was advanced by him as the strongest argument for the submission of Christendom to the clerical despotism of Rome. In the encyclical he pointed to the irreligious, critical and philosophical spirit, to the craze for all sorts of utopian chimeras, to the lowering of the moral standard, and especially to the loss of respect for institutions consecrated by time and for traditions, as things fostering the development of passions which might soon and forever sweep away blind faith in the supernatural and mediæval society, the ancient régime in religion, politics and economics. He further pointed out all the signs of the times which indicate that the people, though they may differ about details, will soon agree to the necessity of overthrowing everything that exists.

The remedial measure recommended by Leo XIII was that the wheel of time be turned back six centuries. While he recognized the fact that the world is in its death agony, to save it, he recommended that it be coerced into conditions from which it emancipated itself after centuries of bloodshed. While he perceived the necessity of the evolution of the Catholic Church, so as to adapt itself to new conditions brought about by universal forces, while he perceived

the necessity of an evolution doing away with the mediæval trappings of the Church, with official Catholicism, with feudal ecclesiastical organizations, perhaps with its entire external framework, yet, he held fast to the spirit which made the Papacy a curse to the human race. He did not intend to free it from spiritual and economic bondage but to enchain it anew with fetters of modern construction. In Leo XIII's mind, the evolution of the Catholic Church should adapt itself to the modern evolution of the Papacy, that it be enabled to retain and to extend its hold on the conscience and the purse of the peoples. To make such a process possible it is necessary to unite Christendom under the authority of the Pope, otherwise the Papacy might before long be left without a constituency in the most civilized countries. It appears that Leo XIII had carefully studied the history of Japan and considered the fate of her spiritual sovereigns and that of many other Popes and Grand Lamas in historical times and in all parts of the world.

Leo XIII probably believed that the human race, although distributed among so many people, various in hue and intelligence, is yet interpenetrated by a common religious feeling and that the differences of feature and belief are only external, as of vessels large or small, but all containing the same holy water. This is undoubtedly true. The question is, what is this holy water? Is it that which man and priest has consecrated or is it of divine origin, that of reason and righteousness, of humanity, which fortified the martyrs of faith, of spiritual and political liberty and moved them to suffer willingly for the advancement of the human race? It is a question, the solution of which will determine not only the success or failure of Leo's scheme but also the fate of the Papacy and the future of Christian civilization. Had Leo XIII considered that the Teutonic race has for centuries attempted to solve this question, that Wickliffe, Luther, William of Orange, Cromwell, the Pilgrims, the Fathers of the Great American Republic, the German, English and American peoples have labored for its solution? Had his Holiness read the *Declaration of Independence*?

That Leo XIII's sole purpose in this movement was the salvation and aggrandizement of the Papacy is clearly apparent from the conditions which he imposed. Under

date of October 1, 1894, "Innominato" writes from Rome: "As to concessions, it is a matter of tact, of means, and Rome is a school of government with strict political discipline, when the interests of a cause require concessions. Leo XIII will not be more severe. As a general rule, I am confident that I can say that the Holy See will show infinite liberality *so long as matters of dogma do not enter* into the exchange of opinion. To stand by the 'Credo,' and the definitions of the councils, in other matters to leave to each Church its individuality, such seems to be the main point of view of his Holiness. It is the criterion which guides him in his negotiations with the East; it should be that which would guide him in the negotiations which may arise with Anglicanism."

In an address delivered at Preston, England, in September, 1894, Cardinal Vaughan, speaking officially, presented Leo XIII's views on the subject of Christian Union. After promising that any proposal to such an end "*which does not include the Apostolic See and the two hundred and forty millions of Christians in communion with it, is self-refuted and meaningless,*" he proceeded to explain the "compromises and concessions" which the Roman Catholic Church can make, and those it cannot make, to bring about the unity of Christendom. The concessions it cannot make are these:

"First, it cannot accept reunion on a basis of formularies and creeds, while each one is left free to give to doctrines expressed in them his own meaning and interpretation. Second, it cannot accept reunion based upon an exclusive belief in the historic Christ, human and divine. The unity must be based upon Christ *as a living divine teacher*, and it must be one of true discipleship. Third, it cannot accept reunion or communion, *were it even to unite the whole human race*, on condition of change or modification or compromise in her own divine constitution, as drawn up by her divine founder."

Concessions which the Roman Catholic Church can make are "changes and modifications in her discipline, and in legislation which concerns times and circumstances," such as clerical celibacy, communion of both kinds, its liturgy, and the language of the liturgy. "As to these," said Cardinal Vaughan, "the Roman Catholic Church would not hesitate again to make concessions, as it did in the past, for the sake of some great good, could they be shown to surpass

in value adhesion to the points of discipline to be relaxed." But "no question of reunion can be seriously entertained without a recognition of the principle and fact of unity, the *visible unity* of the Catholic Church, *continued to this day*, undiminished in its perfection."

This, of course, involves the complete surrender of the Protestant position. In other words, Leo XIII demanded the return of the Protestants under the dominion of the *infallible Pope*.

CHAPTER III

Celibacy and the Sham Concessions of the Vatican. The only important concession which the Papacy "can make" is that relating to clerical celibacy. Apparently this is a surrender of the fundamental principle in the structure of the Roman theocracy. The modern evolution of the Papacy was made possible only by clerical celibacy. Abolish it and the entire hierarchical structure of the Church falls and with it the Papacy. It is, therefore, necessary to examine into the *animus imponentis*. Nobody supposes that Leo XIII intended to commit political hara-kiri or to destroy the Papacy. It is generally acknowledged that the Vatican is well informed on nearly everything that is going on in the world, of the condition of nations and of classes, and of their possibilities and future. Therefore, the Vatican is well informed of the spiritual and economic condition of the clergy in all parts of the world.

The Greek regular clergy, from whom alone promotions to the episcopate are made, is already living in celibacy. To improve their low economic and degraded social position the Greek secular or married clergy in Europe, as well as in Asia Minor, would accept celibacy or anything else. Should a union be effected, it would be but a question of time, of a generation or two, when the entire Greek clergy would live in a celibate state.

As to the Anglicans, a large proportion of whom, even of the rectors, at present have to support themselves and their families on a few hundred dollars a year; it is also but a question of time when their condition will force them into celibacy. The London *Spectator* says: "The clergymen of the Church of England either must become for the most part celibate, or, if they insist on marrying, they must resign themselves to living as the artisans live, and to bringing up their children to various trades. In the former case their condition will be assimilated to that of the Roman Catholic priest; in the latter, to that of the dissenting minister of the poorer type." A few years ago an attempt was

made in England to raise by voluntary subscription a fund for supplementing the stipends of the poorer Anglican clergymen and particularly of the curates who have to live on such small sums as the rectors, out of their ever shrinking resources, feel able to dole out to them. The attempt failed, *because the moneyed power in England, and for that matter the world over, has no interest in elevating the condition of the learned estate.* Through the change in economics and the growth of Capitalism the resources of the rectors are gradually diminished and eventually will almost cease. In a generation or two the Anglican clergymen will be placed before the alternative of living either in celibacy and in the hope of being successful in the scramble for the few prizes in their calling or of living permanently in poverty, accepting social reduction for themselves and their families. The Papal concession as to clerical celibacy in the case of the Anglicans means nothing more than a short wait for its enforcement by the leveling process of the modern economic and social forces. With the approach of the collapse of the endowment system the Anglican clergymen can now see the handwriting on the wall.

What has been said of the Anglican clergymen is also applicable to the dissenting ministers in England and the United States. The immense majority of them are underpaid. The prizes are few. Though they do not start with the assumption that their children must be brought up in the environments of luxury, yet, as educated men they feel more keenly the pangs of poverty than the laborer does and are naturally anxious to secure for their children a liberal education. Consequently the number of college graduates entering the ministry diminishes from year to year. Should a union with the dissenting bodies be effected, the poor clergy would find in the fixed position which Rome can almost guarantee a recompense for the loss of family life.

The concession as to clerical celibacy is more nominal than real. Leo XIII perfectly understood that the economic causes which alone made it possible for Gregory VII to decree and enforce celibacy, are now effectively, though under changed conditions, operating in favor of his own scheme. At that time the feudal system became firmly established. It oppressed the lower clergy and robbed them of the means for a proper livelihood. To escape the tyranny of the lords and to secure the guarantee of a proper

and fixed living they sacrificed their rights as men and citizens and became part of the Roman ecclesiastical-political machine. Just so industrial feudalism and Capitalism are now laying their heavy hands on the learned and on the clergy. With the progress of the division of the people into the very rich and the very poor the prizes in the liberal professions and in the dissenting Churches are gradually reduced in number because the rich will congregate in a few parishes and the poor are not able to pay adequate salaries. Here, as well as in England, it would be but a question of time when the great body of the dissenting clergy would prefer celibacy to the submersion in poverty. Besides, the Papal court would take good care to convince clergymen that as celibates only they could expect promotion to the hierarchy and to the fat stipends.

CHAPTER IV

Is the Catholic Church of America a Possibility? As to the probability of Christian Union, it is well first to consider the chances of success in relation to the orthodox or Greek Church, to the Armenian Church, and to the Lutheran Church. A fusion of the first two of these ecclesiastical bodies with Rome has been repeatedly attempted by the Popes, and there have been times when such efforts seemed to have a fair chance of success. But in the end they have miscarried, not so much because of differences in theological doctrine, as because of differences of ritual and of hierarchical organization. Leo XIII, in his encyclical, assures the Eastern schismatics that, in the event of their reunion with the Roman Church, the privileges of their patriarchates and the rites of their liturgies shall never be abrogated. These certainly are large concessions, but the rulers of Russia can never surrender the real source of their autocratic power, their episcopal character and authority as the head of the Greek Church, and, therefore, cannot acknowledge the Papal claim to the succession of St. Peter. Moreover, the political aspirations of the Czars and of the slavophiles are based on the character of the Czar as the spiritual head of the Greek Church. It is also very questionable whether the Russian bishops and theologians would submit to the authority of the Pope now that his utterances have been invested with the attribute of infallibility. As for the Armenian Church, its ultimate absorption by the Orthodox Church of Russia rather than by Catholicism seems more likely. The outcome of the last war with Turkey was to include a large part of Armenia within Russian territory, and the next partition of the Ottoman possessions will doubtless make the great mass of Armenians subjects of the Czar.

Germany as the cradle of Protestantism is also the cradle of science. The system of education in Germany and the deep religious feeling of the nation tend to develop Protestantism as a purely ethical force free from all taints of super-

stition. With a people virtually governed by universities, in which the spirit of research rules supreme, and traditionally filled with a fierce hatred of Popery, all efforts of Leo's successors must be in vain. In Germany all religious matters will be settled at the bar of final resort, the court of the world's scholarship. Therefore, a union with the Lutheran Church appears to be a chimerical project.

As to the Anglican Church, conditions and circumstances are somewhat different. It cannot be denied that within a generation past there has been evident in the Anglican Church a strong, almost irresistible movement for a closer connection with Rome. This movement is as marked among the Episcopalians of this country as it is in England. "Innominato" says in one of his letters: "It is from England and the United States that Leo XIII has received the most marked encouragement. . . . I know that parleys, that exchanges of opinions, have taken place between Anglicans and Catholics. The Pope, very eager for all news concerning it, had a well-informed person come to Rome in order that he might find out all that was said, done, and *prepared*. Startled by what he learned, and by these new currents of thought, he began a broad inquiry into the manner of entering into relations with the Anglican Church."

A flood of Catholic reaction has inundated Protestantism in the Anglican Church. Mass is substituted for communion. The sacraments are multiplied to include penance, matrimony, and extreme unction. Communion of both kinds is avoided. Religious orders in which celibacy is required are established. The confessional is introduced into many churches. All are now ritualistic, and the only existing division is as to the degree of ritualism. Besides, the old Tractarian movement, by its revival of the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and apostolic succession, paves the way to a recognition of the supremacy of the Pope. As a matter of fact, there is a continuous stream of converts. The conversions in England and in the United States have become so common that the secular press seldom prints an account of a conversion unless there are some very exceptional circumstances connected with it. The present policy of Rome in both England and this country discourages public exaltation over conversion to Roman Catholicism. The sentiment seems to be that the logical tendency of ritualism is the union with Rome.

As a purely religious matter the question as to the probability of a union of the Anglican Church with Rome might be answered in the affirmative. But such a union is more than a religious question; it is a political question of racial complexion, in England as well as in the United States. Considered from the political standpoint, it is doubtful whether the Papacy would ever reap the political benefits it expects from such a union. England's economic and political future depends on her ability to maintain the British empire intact. To do this England must for some time to come, certainly under the present economic system in society, sustain monarchy. Notwithstanding the progress of democracy in England her people thoroughly understand this.

Superficial observers think that England will be a republic before long. She has been nearer republicanism than she is now or will be so long as the British empire is not destroyed by agencies outside of the control of the English people. They know that when the royal standard is pulled down, the empire will be pulled down. To sustain monarchy it is absolutely necessary that the reigning family should be in full spiritual sympathy with a majority of the people, and that the head of the State remain also the head of the church of the majority of the people. Should a union with Rome be effected under the present condition of the Episcopal Church as a State institution and as a constituent part of the empire, the British sovereign would not only part with the episcopal character, but cease to be in sympathy with the majority of the English people. The immediate effect of a union, as well as of disestablishment, an apparently sure outcome of the democratic progress, will be a split in the Episcopal Church, the more numerous evangelical or Anglo-Saxon party becoming more Protestant still. Then the Roman Catholic party will be in a hopeless minority, an object of political distrust, of persecution perhaps, without the compact political power to sustain monarchy, or to assist the Papacy in its ambitious designs. Of course, under such conditions there can be no thought of the royal family's submission to Rome. It would follow the majority and with it gradually drift into the full current of Protestantism. Besides, since the modern evolution of the art and means of war, the very existence of the British empire depends on

the unity and military strength of the German people. It is not very likely that the English people, who delight in their empire rather than in any dream of Christian union or in the splendor of the Papacy, or the British royal family will risk to lose the support of their country's natural and only true ally, by submission to the Papacy, Germany's arch-enemy.

To the superficial observer of the Catholic movement in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States it appears more than probable that the ritualistic party will ultimately join the Church of Rome. Though the extreme ritualists declare themselves as bitterly opposed to the doctrine of Papal supremacy as any Protestant, yet, holding as they do, that the Church is infallible, there seems to be no consistency in the refusal to acknowledge the infallibility of the Pope. Arrayed against the fundamental principle of Protestantism these extremists not only hesitate to cross the line, but those of their numbers who do so are spoken of as deserters from the Christian camp and as victims of intellectual imbecility and moral perversion. To the plain intellect it appears that the extremists must either logically and inevitably journey "en masse" to Rome or lose their religious faith altogether. What is it that prevents their crossing of the Rubicon?

The emotional movement in the Episcopal Church represented by the extreme ritualists is only a symptom of that fear which in the expectation of a deluge, has seized the classes and sentimentalists in Christendom. The part of the Episcopal Church, which represents the classes more than any other religious body in the United States, seeks in a return to child-like faith a cure-all for the evils besetting a dying world and in the worship of Jesus Christ as King and Master the only protection for the tottering structure of society. Like Leo XIII, the extreme ritualists in the American Episcopal Church recognize in Protestantism an irresistible revolutionary force that must be totally destroyed or it will break down the barriers set up by avarice and absolutism to exclude the humane. The ritualists hold that our social, political, and religious evils have their source in the intellectual and social emancipation of the civilized world from the faith and status of the Middle Ages and therefore intend to resist skepticism and revolutionary fervor with the assertion that the only fact of

history of essential importance is the government of the world by a personal God. They reject the fundamental idea of Protestantism that religious allegiance should be to principles merely. In this they set themselves against the spiritual and racial forces that by their progressive nature have silently and irresistibly changed the moral and political character of the Anglican Church in the United States as well as in England. They attempt to stem and roll back the current of thought which has accumulated force and volume during three centuries. The Catholic movement in the Episcopal Church of this country is effervescent in character, not sustained by a deep religious feeling or a healthy patriotic sentiment or by economic, social and political necessities. Since the *War of Independence* the Anglican Church in the United States has been thoroughly nationalized. It has become an American institution. The immense majority of its members are of Anglo-Saxon descent. Racial traditions and all the influences of Americanism oppose a union with Rome.

The first serious attempt to effect such a union would produce here, as in England, a split in the Church. However, such an attempt will never be made. Yet, the Catholic movement in the American Episcopal Church has an important bearing on the religious, social, and political future of the United States. To the careful observer this movement appears rather in opposition to Rome, *aiming at the organization of an American Catholic Church*. If the extreme ritualists could effect such an organization they would solve the Romish question which seriously threatens the peace and prosperity of our country. It would be a rational and politic solution. Is such a solution possible?

CHAPTER V

The Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The extraordinary growth of the Roman Catholic Church in this country has been due to three causes: the large Irish immigration, the inattention of the American people to the growth of the foreign plant, and the missionary or semi-independent character of the Church, thus avoiding irritating friction and apparently recognizing the American doctrine of the consent of the governed. Irish immigration must soon almost cease. The American people are now partly aroused to the dangers of Romanism. Fully aroused, they will enact such laws as will make the extension of Romanism a difficult and unprofitable matter. Leo XIII himself deprived the Roman establishment in the United States of its missionary character.

As soon as the American people regulate Catholic immigration and enforce the American education of our youth without distinction as to creed and descent, the superstitious and, therefore, slavishly submissive element among the great body of Catholics will die out and the Catholic population must decrease; certainly it cannot rapidly increase. It will lose its foreign or Irish character and then can more readily merge in to any specifically American institution. The spirit of American independence must exert itself. It will protest against foreign or Papal sovereignty. It will certainly rebel against vice-regal government and hierarchical despotism. It will demand for laymen a share in the government of the Church, a general accounting and a public administration of the funds. It will destroy in the then better educated Roman Catholic population the idolatrous subordination to the priesthood and in the lower or parish clergy the fear of the Roman camarilla and of their instrument, the hierarchy. Should the Papacy not fully succeed in the execution of Leo XIII's policy of making the United States a Papal State and the seat of the Papacy, the mission of Mgr. Satolli and of his successors may appear a fatal error, leading in its final consequences to the establishment of an American Catholic Church. Before Leo

XIII decided on Satolli's mission his Holiness should have carefully weighed all the chances of success or failure and should have considered that in these times it is wise in Church and State to refrain from a reckless and arbitrary assertion of power. The American people may be willing in time to come to elect a Pope as their President, to change the Constitution so as to make his term of office a life tenure, but at present they will rebel against the thought of being governed by any ruler other than of their own choice.

The outside world, hitherto, has known nothing that could be concealed as to questions, differences, and trials in the administration of Papal authority in the United States or elsewhere. That they exist there is no doubt. There is in this country among Catholic priests a spirit of restlessness and of protest against the despotism of the hierarchy, a longing for the exertion of manhood and independence. The proceedings of the diocesan clergy against Bishop Bonacum of Nebraska and against the Arch-Bishop of St. Louis, the revolutionary protest of the clergy of the diocese of Hartford, Conn., in the matter of the appointment of a Bishop, demanding his election on the American plan, and other matters from time to time coming to the surface indicate that the American spirit of independence has already penetrated the rank and file of the Catholic clergy and has entered the sanctum of the Catholic press which has been charged with the crime of exposing Bishops to the ridicule of the faithful and non-Catholic. This appears from the deliberations at a secret meeting of the Arch-Bishops of the Roman Church, held in Chicago, September, 1893. There the question of the hostile attitude of some of the Catholic journals toward the hierarchy came up for discussion. A circular was issued which throws a strong and peculiar light on the position of the Roman Church in regard to the liberty of the press in the United States. In this circular the Arch-Bishops threaten the publishers with measures aiming at the suppression of their respective publications, that is with financial ruin. To fortify their un-American position the Arch-Bishops cite decrees 230 and 231 of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. The circular reads partly as follows: "It is a source of sadness and humiliation to us that our position forces us *again and again* to caution

editors of Catholic newspapers, that neither they themselves nor those who assist them should attack ecclesiastics, and above all Bishops, nor should they constitute themselves the judges of Episcopal decisions, decrees, and such matters pertaining to the administration of a diocese, or find fault with them. . . . And lest the present evil, *a daily growing* source of scandal to Catholics and others, should continue to flourish, we judge well to meet it, not by cautions and advices merely, but also by ecclesiastical penalties. Wherefore, for the future, laymen or clerics who themselves or through others associated with or encouraged by them, in public print assail by wanton words, ill-natured utterances, raileries, those in authority—much more *if they presume to carp at or condemn a Bishop's methods of administration*—all these principals, partners, abettors, disturbers, contemnors, and enemies of ecclesiastical discipline, as they are, we declare guilty of gravest scandal, and thereby, their fault being proved, deserving of censure.” This reads very much like a decree of the Inquisition. If the gentlemen who issued this circular had the power, they would undoubtedly have ordered the unfortunate editors exciting their wrath to be burned at the stake.

The spirit of rebellion against Papal and hierarchical despotism and greediness has in various forms entered the American Roman Catholic world deeper than is apparent to the casual observer. McGlynn's sustained example has done and is doing much in that direction. It demonstrated that Americanized Irish Catholics will sustain even a mountebank in his opposition to clerical despotism whenever he is of sufficient shrewdness to masquerade his ambitions and selfish designs as patriotic passion and humane endeavor. Considered from the Roman standpoint, the rehabilitation of McGlynn was an error in policy of possibly momentous consequences to the American schemes of Leo XIII. McGlynn's case was used as a club with which Mgr. Satolli beat into submission the refractory hierarchy of Jesuitical affiliation of the United States. It may turn out to be a boomerang of tremendous force. The peculiar settlement of this case of clerical insubordination and slander has weakened the authority of the hierarchy and assailed the exceptional position of the Pontiff.

Other signs of the growth and spread of the rebellious spirit in the Roman Catholic Church in our country are

the fact that the Deputy-Pope has been openly insulted and defied by Irish Catholics in Paterson, N. J., and the organization by fourteen Roman Catholic Polish Churches of "The Catholic Church in America" as a semi-independent body and the election of the Rev. Vilatte as its Bishop. This revolt from Roman control is primarily the result of the arbitrary interference of the hierarchy in the affairs of congregations who contended that they should have a voice in the selection of a pastor, in the administration of the parish, and in the application of the funds. At the first Convention of the newly organized Church, held at Cleveland, O., in August, 1894, Bishop Vilatte said:

"We are met to proclaim all over the land: '*Beware of despotism if you love liberty.*' The American Catholic Church will be composed of men of the different nationalities of the old world, yet here united to one great American nation, and led by chief pastors who, being Catholic in faith and thoroughly American in spirit, are yet adapted to understand and enter into the several national peculiarities of their respective flocks. The Catholic Church in America, in rejecting false doctrines, has put itself in doctrinal harmony with the East, and entered into unity of spirit with the Ecumenical thrones of Jerusalem, *the mother of all the churches*, and Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria, and the 'Old Catholics' of Holland, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Ceylon. We allow no dissidence in matters of faith. We recognize the Ecumenical councils as the fountain head for the unity of faith. The new Church will favor the education of the children of the congregation in the public schools of America. It is also in favor of the utmost freedom of discussion of all subjects pertaining to religion."

In the Convention an effort was made by some of the delegates, notably those of Pennsylvania, to have the Convention break away absolutely from the Pope. It was openly asserted by many delegates that the Romish authorities were not capable of administering the affairs of the Church and the infallibility of the Pope was scouted at. It is a significant fact that the dedication of the first church edifice of the new organization was the occasion of a riot that resulted in bloodshed and in an attempt to destroy the new structure.

It is but a question of time, depending on political de-

velopments in Germany, when the German Roman Catholics in the United States will follow the example of their Polish co-religionists. All such movements must find their resting place in the Episcopal Church. Its greatest strength and growth in the cities, which are due to the increasing taste of the Protestant urban population for its ritual, will also influence these movements. The remarkable energy displayed by its parishes of late years in pushing forward their religious and charitable enterprises, will enable the Episcopal Church to reap all the benefits of a possible schism in the Roman Catholic Church in our country. Therefore, within two or three generations the Episcopal Church may exert a commanding influence in American society, should it gain control of the urban population, because, as the cities go, so, before long, goes America. This eventuality rests on the presumption that the dissenting bodies fail in their mission as harbingers of democracy and nurseries of scientific and ethical progress.

CHAPTER VI

The Transformation in Protestant Belief. In the encyclical on Christian unity Leo XIII denounced the Free Masons as enemies of religious unity and declared that to Protestants there remains no certain rule of faith or authority, therefore some going so far as to deny the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the Scriptures, ending in naturalism and materialism.

What are the facts on which this assertion is based? It cannot be denied that with progressive education, particularly during the last twenty years, the transformation in Protestant belief has been unexampled in the history of Christianity. This has been brought about by a movement apparently in the direction of the intellectual, away from faith; by an examination into the evidences of the supernatural in an intellectual and scientific spirit essentially opposed to faith. It is, as some assert, a movement toward agnosticism, the destruction of the old belief in the supernatural and hence incidentally in the immortality of the soul. Discrediting the Bible as the word of God, it destroys the pillar of all faith in the Christian world.

It is a fact that the Continental universities and the educated in Europe have accepted the conclusions of the Dutch and German Biblical critics, while the Church of England has formally refused to condemn the results of their investigation. Even Roman Catholic scholars have accepted them in widely published declaratory articles which were not condemned by the Holy Office. It did condemn an article contributed by Mr. St. George Mivart to the "Nineteenth Century" in which the writer advises the Pope to depose the present expounders of the Scriptures in Rome and to install the Freethinkers of Holland and Germany in their places. Adopting all the results of their criticism Mr. Mivart concluded that the Old Testament abounded in fables, myths, and legends which could have originated only in the childhood of the world. He declared that human nature revolted at the thought that the majority of mankind

will be eternally damned and at the hideous pictures of the torments to which, according to orthodox teaching, the lost souls will be forever subjected. A sharp scrutiny of Leo XIII's encyclical on the Bible impresses the reader with the sagacity of a policy which seems carefully to avoid every conflict with these Biblical critics. As to the study of the Bible Pope Leo said:

"Catholic teachers must be well versed in Oriental and classical lore and languages. They ought to study the more ardently and acquire the more of secular as well as religious wisdom, the more the signs of the times and the advance of secular learning and scientific research sternly demand the apologetic exertion of the defenders of the Christian faith and a keener critical acumen, sharpened by a stricter and more assiduous application to historical and linguistic studies."

Incidentally the Pope denied that there is a real conflict between faith and knowledge, between Biblical doctrine and the discoveries of modern science. Quoting from St. Augustine, "God's spirit who spoke through the sacred writers, did not intend to teach men things that were of no use for their salvation," Pope Leo placed himself virtually in the position of the Anglican Church on this question of apologetics. The very fact that the Papacy having for centuries opposed the study of the Bible, thought it necessary to publish an encyclical on the Bible, is sufficient proof that the intellectual movement which resulted from the application of the demonstrations of science and of Biblical criticism to matters of faith has also assailed the citadel of superstition, the Roman Catholic Church, and that its defenders are at a loss how to repel it.

To the scholars of the world it is evident that scientific research and Biblical criticism in the end must lead the educated in Christendom not to sentimental atheism or deism but to agnosticism, because without revelation nothing else remains. In this, the movement differs from the skepticism of the Eighteenth century.

The question is, and its solution is a paramount duty, in what manner and to what extent will this movement affect the masses in Protestant countries. Its solution will not only decide the fate of the Papacy and the direction of Christian civilization in Europe but also the success or

failure of Leo XIII's plan for Christian unity in the United States and their economic, social, and political future. It will also decide, whether the era of social changes now fast approaching, shall be one of gradual progress, whether it shall be another volcanic upheaval of society, or whether it shall be an era of spiritual darkness under the despotism of theocracy.

The effect of this movement on the masses depends in England and in the United States primarily on the ability and possibility of the Protestant clergy and universities to adapt all future theological and philosophical speculations to racial traditions and a certain common body of established truths which they will find in the Bible hidden under a heap of legendary rubbish, and which, while assailing superstition, oppose all destructive social forces. The intellectual movement, though questioning the divine character of the Bible, has, nevertheless, its origin in the Bible, in its unchangeable moral and political truths. It is nothing else, than a continuation of the Reformation, an evolutionary process through which Protestantism shall be raised to a higher plane in ethics. Without the revelation of these Biblical truths the moral progress of the human race would have been impossible.

Protestantism is a revolutionary force drawn from the ethics of the Bible, the most democratic book in the world. From the study of the Bible, when its sublime truths as to man and his relations to society, as to his duties, his liberties, and his equality were disclosed, the Albigenses and the Waldenses, the Lollards and the Hussites, drew the inspiration to rebel against their oppressors. The Reformation destroyed the universal clerical-political despotism of the Papacy, it taught Pope and King alike that the human is a force superior to superstition and fear. During the centuries in which the ethical treasures of the Bible were generally accessible, political freedom and prosperity were secured by the peoples in proportion to the degree in which they held the Bible to be the ultimate authority in all matters pertaining to their political existence and the only guide on the path of life. Since the Reformation the Bible has been woven into the life of the Teutonic peoples; it has been the Magna Charta of the masses and the source of every revolutionary movement, from *Luther's declaration*

before Charles V to the Declaration of Independence, from the revolt of the Netherlands to the War of the Rebellion and the unification of Germany.

The movement toward agnosticism was greatly advanced by the Parliament of Religions held at the World's Exhibition at Chicago. It was a sensational side show, in which prominent representatives of Christian sects and of many other religious systems took part. By their presence, declarations, and fraternal action these Christian clerics demonstrated before Christendom that in their opinion Christianity is not the sole true and perfect religion, not the only religion, whereby men can be saved. If Christianity is not the only true and perfect religion, it is a fabrication of men and not the sole and complete revelation of truth from God himself. If He did not come down from Heaven in order to teach men the only truth, Christian theology is built on fiction. God commands and does not argue with men. Christianity is either His Command or it is a superstition. The very fact of their presence at the Parliament of Religions proved that the Christian clerics recognized the claim of all other religious systems as resting on a level with Christianity as to truth, and therefore acknowledged the agnostic theory, that all religious belief is only a childish expression of the universal effort of men to penetrate into the unknown.

The Parliament of Religions demonstrated the agnostic indifference to all religion of the highly educated clergy of all the Christian sects that were represented. This so-called Parliament of Religions was gotten up for the purpose of influencing public opinion in favor of Leo XIII's project of Christian unity. While the ignorant masses of the Romish Church could draw no conclusions from such a gathering, the Protestant masses probably did. The fact is, the Protestant sects walked unconsciously into the trap skillfully set for them.

The so-called Briggs rebellion in the Presbyterian Church was also in the direction of agnosticism, forecasting dangerous division in all the Protestant Churches. It failed, because the leaders had not the qualities requisite for the leadership in a movement for the intellectual emancipation of men, while the orthodox party had at least the courage of their convictions or that for the defense of their interests.

CHAPTER VII

The Wanings of the Protestant Churches. Notwithstanding that the American people, like all Teutonic peoples, are possessed of a deep religious feeling, of the sense of righteousness, and therefore of a strong moral purpose, yet, statistics gathered by men whose research commands confidence prove that American Protestants have ceased to be a church-going people. In point of fact, the Protestant Churches have lost their hold on the multitude. It would be folly to conceal the truth, that Protestant congregations to-day are more or less mere society affairs, associations for mutual admiration and for social pleasures, the whole covered with a thin veneer of conventional piety, laid on to cover passion and to mislead a community which is skeptical as to all professions of orthodox faith and personal holiness.

The Protestant Churches are to-day associations of people who either simply follow the traditions and habits of old because it is fashionable and secures in a democratic community with no other honorary distinctions as to rank or caste, a certain social standing in their respective communities, or who are moved by selfish purposes to cloak shortcomings in personal and civic virtues or to influence the masses for the benefit of the old régime. Others again are of a sickly sentimentalism, which for instance manifests itself in knitting woolen socks for savages in tropical countries, while the children of poverty who rove all around us and gradually drift into barbarism, are barefooted and morally and physically neglected. Then there are the people who have a lien on righteousness, the holier than thou people, the cranks and the fanatics, the inventors of "isms" and self-constituted guardians of other people's morals, the emotional and hysterical natures, the hypocrites and blatherskites who would, if they had the chance, persecute the Savior for associating with the sinners and failing to frown upon the amenities of life. These people have set up a perverted moral code evolved from the qualities of

mind, heart, and soul which made the Inquisition and the burning of the witches possible.

Christ came to establish righteousness and justice as the fundamental principles of society. When the Protestant Churches sustained wrong toward individuals and classes, when they were made servants of Mammon, they failed in their apostleship. With a narrow conception of their mission they lost all connection with the multitude. Instead of drawing inspiration and nourishment from the ethics of the Bible, they subsisted on mosaic lore and fables, which in our times common sense will no longer accept as sacred writings or the expressions of the omniscient God.

In an age of rapid intellectual and social progress, in which millions of newspapers spread philosophical thought and the results of scientific research to the humble cottage and to the workshop, when the great questions of life are secular and are the property of the masses, set terms and phrases, platitudes and glittering generalities tire the people, however warm of heart and noble in spirit. The conception that the Protestant Churches must not participate in the activities of the world, has belittled and perverted their influence. The Churches ought to have been the first to right wrongs, but with the narrow orthodox conception of their sphere, they have permitted the avaricious and the corrupt to despoil the people. The Protestant Churches failed to drive the money changers and usurers from the temple and consequently lost their hold on the masses. Instead of accommodating themselves under the changed economic and social conditions to the requirements of their religion, which propagates the doctrine of the brotherhood of humanity, and to change the means employed, the modern Christians of the Protestant faith made their religion accommodate itself to them, that they might enjoy this life to the full, amass riches, and disobey the commands of Christ.

CHAPTER VIII

The Protestant Clergy and their Dependent Position. Supported in college by pious offerings, a large part of the Protestant clergy have acquired the habit of dependence and become obsequious to wealth. Ministers trained under social conditions, on which charity has set its stamp, are not sustained by manly independence, which insists on following its own lead. To gain preferment they have to be pliant and subservient; they dare not offend the rich supporters of churches or administrators of funds, from which the meager salaries are often increased. When the Rev. Henry A. Adams of New York quit the Episcopal Church, he said in his farewell letter:—

“With a rector called by a vestry made up of the rich men of the place—a rector intimidated, harassed, made by his very tenure impotent, the hired mouthpiece of this vestry of rich men, sometimes immoral, often ignorant, usually officious, always in the way—here he is to teach these rich masters of his what they already know and like. He is to conduct service as they direct. He is to tolerate and endorse any abomination which may have been (and usually is) established in the parish. He is to belie himself, his message, God’s very work for peace’s sake.”

Is this picture overdrawn? The Protestant ministers of all sects labor more or less under like disadvantages and humiliating conditions whether the congregations are rich or poor. The difference is only in the degree of servitude according to the degree of wealth possessed by the congregations or their patrons. In point of fact, Protestant ministers are to-day beset by all the evils which flow from modern Capitalism, like all wage earners they are the serfs of Capitalism, depending for their very living on the whims, prejudices, and social necessities of the money-getters and vultures of modern society or on that class of usually very vulgar people called the self-made men.

It is lamentable that such should be the social condition of the ministers. But, is it not partially their fault? In

this age of education and critical research and challenge and sharp controversy, there is no place for weak characters in the ministry of the Protestant Church, of the church of revolutionary origin and progress. If a minister of the Gospel has any opinions which cannot stand the sunlight of the truth, the sooner he gets rid of them the better. Then let him stand up for his convictions, for that which he thinks is right and to be his Creator's command. Let him exert his independence and manhood! Let him draw his inspiration from the ethics of the Bible, from the traditions and history of his race! Let him sometimes look to Jesus, *the man* and humanitarian, that he may be the bearer of His message to the downtrodden of the land. Let him keep always in mind that the Church should exist solely for the purpose of bettering the condition of man, that it is founded on that theory only and that such has been Christ's mission and sole purpose. Let him combat the excessive craving for wealth and let him understand that the loss of the restraint, which the traditions of monarchies and aristocracies have imposed on the exclusive devotion to the accumulation of riches, has charged the American ministry with the most imperative duty of guarding society against the evils arising from the greed for gold. Forgetting Christ's admonition "Thou canst not serve two masters" the Protestant ministry tumbled into all sorts of inconsistencies and humiliating positions in their painful efforts to serve God and Mammon.

Speaking on the subject "The Minister and Good Government" at an annual meeting of Alumni of a Theological Seminary, Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst of New York City, said:

"History is going up hill and not down. We can malign David for his vices, and pour hot shot into poor old Solomon, and he, being a back number and having no relative to pound us, the whole performance warms and stimulates the blood, if the church is cold. But such performances are really cold enough to discourage perspiration in July. *Here are certain moral ideas to be pushed. Who is going to push them if the pulpit does not?*

"There is not a great deal of statesmanship in the pulpit to-day, and outside of the pulpit there is none that I know of. There is plenty of politics, but no statesmanship. Politics is statesmanship with the moral questions left out.

Politics alone is worse than pure depravity. It contains just that tincture of decency which makes it unreliable.

"Statesmanship requires an ethical element, but ethics does not pay. *If you go into the ethical business you must dispense with terrapin.* Statesmanship must be found in the pulpit. Ninety per cent. of the civic and political questions being ethical, what reason is there which prevents pulpit prophets from marshalling the army of events? *They used to do it. Why not now?*"

Why not now? Because men cannot serve Mammon and marshal the army of events at the same time. The American pulpit prophets, who in the past marshalled the army of events, were not the mouthpieces and slaves of plutoeracy. The men who to-day are worshiping in splendid church edifices to satisfy their vanity and, to deaden the voice of conscience, build chapels for the poor and pay for the services of pulpit prophets, are just the men who want plenty of politics, that are worse than pure depravity, to further their antisocial purposes. They detest statesmanship that requires an ethical element, excludes corrupt practices and promises no pecuniary returns. The army of events, if it means anything, is the onward movement of the collective body of a nation toward democracy, for the moral, economic, and social elevation of the masses, attainments, that generally do not pay the men who are the patrons of churches and the keepers of the conscience of the pulpit prophets of to-day. Yes, the minister, who to-day goes into the ethical business must dispense with terrapin, that is, he must expect to be turned out of his living, to be persecuted, defamed, and exposed to starvation and social degradation.

If Dr. Parkhurst to-day would go into the ethical business on a large scale, that is, if he should attempt to pass in his advance on the strongholds of vice and politics, that are worse than pure depravity, a certain well defined and easily recognized line of demarcation, where obedience to duty and conscience must assail the social forces now dominant in society, he would soon discover the reason which prevents our modern pulpit prophets from marshalling the army of events. Should he, for instance, attempt to prosecute the real harbingers of the social evil, the owners of the houses in which it flourishes, or follow the real sources of corruption in politics, he might meet the men of whom Rev. Adams said, that they are "sometimes immoral, often ignorant,

usually officious, always in the way—the men who force God's servant to belie himself, his message, God's very work." Dr. Parkhurst partially succeeded in his crusade against vice and Tammany because he had the sense and the courage to advance, as opportunity offered, on racial-religious lines and, therefore, captivated the hearts of the Protestant masses. He secured the support of Capital because Capital is sometimes afraid of an uprising of the people which sooner or later would have occurred and secured to them exclusively the fruits of victory. Such an uprising must be of revolutionary character on purely ethical and racial lines. It must have crushed Rome, Mammon, and the servants of both. The men who are daily scheming and bargaining to make money, whose business principles are narrow, low, selfish, and grovelling, who within the last generation brought to infamous ruin enormous enterprises, could not be and are not in honest sympathy with this fighting parson.

Dr. Parkhurst pushes certain moral ideas. In this he sets a noble example. But pushing certain moral ideas on local issues is a different thing from marshalling the army of events. The one may be a local matter of opportunity only, the other is a revolutionary process aiming at the intellectual, economic, and social advancement of a nation. Dr. Parkhurst, like others of his learned brethren ministering to wealthy congregations, finds himself in a piteous predicament. In receipt of a large and fixed income and in the enjoyment of all the environments of a wealthy society, yet conscious of failing in their duty toward God and their fellow men, they are as ministers as much at issue with their professed religion as they are as men with their conscience. They waver in their attitude towards the wrongs in society, just as in their faith in the Bible as the infallible word of God. Thus in a sermon on woman suffrage, Dr. Parkhurst said:

"The Bible, it is true, is a very old book, and was composed by men who had no knowledge of our day and no presentiment of the fertility and expansiveness of idea that would obtain in the closing decades of the nineteenth century."

The idea here expressed is that the Bible is not the word of the omniscient God but a composition by men. And yet, in the same sermon, Dr. Parkhurst said, that the question

at issue could only be decided by holding distinctly to Scriptural grounds. With one breath the *learned* Doctor denies the Divine character of the Bible, with the other the *pulpit orator* refers his hearers to its teachings as of Divine wisdom and the only principles for the settlement of every question as to human conduct.

How can the Protestant masses, who are sufficiently enlightened to apply the test of common sense to all matters spiritual and temporal, yet are too sober-minded or not of that degree of learning to fathom the subtle influences, moving our learned and highly salaried theologians to profess faith in the supernatural and to deny the only source of such faith, entrust this class of men with the sublime mission of marshalling the army of events? It is true, as Dr. Parkhurst stated in his address to theological students, that no man can lead the masses with so much effect as the accredited prophets of Almighty God. The trouble is, that "with the fertility and expansiveness of idea that obtain in the closing decades of the nineteenth century" the people demand to see the credentials of these prophets and insist on a strict investigation as to their qualifications. The only credentials the Protestant masses will recognize as genuine and entitling the bearer to their full confidence are those which are taken from the book of books. The qualifications insisted upon are those prescribed by the book of books, which to the Teutonic peoples is the Alma Mater of their national existence, the source of their ethical being, the Alpha and Omega of their earthly existence. "The very old book" contains the truths which will be the guiding principles of the Teutonic race to the end of the world. "The men who composed it" had the knowledge of our day and the presentiment of the fertility and expansiveness of idea that obtain in our days when they laid down the principles for the settlement of every question as to human conduct and on which the ideal democracy of the future will be reared.

In our century there is a moral insurgence in the minds of grave men against the wrongs which the masses suffer from the existence of mediæval institutions and prejudices and from the avarice and depravity of the few. They are the men of courage and capacity to combat these evils and their tendencies first and to educate their victims afterwards. The Protestant ministers are called upon to follow

the example of these men. Thus only will they follow the example of their Master. The noble example set by Dr. Parkhurst should teach the Protestant ministers their power and their duty. But in the service of the Lord and of humanity there is no half-way station, there are no places of rest. God does not argue and bargain with men. His servants cannot argue and bargain with the oppressors of men, of his children. Christ said "Thou canst not serve God and Mammon." Girt up with Bible truths, steeled with the inflexible purpose to serve only God and their fellow men, the Protestant ministers can appeal to the Protestant masses for recognition as the accredited prophets of Almighty God to marshal the army of events,—to lead in the movement for the intellectual, economic, and social advancement of the American people. *Then, and then only the Protestant ministers will be able to assert their spiritual, economic, and social independence.*

As far as the present and future welfare of the American people and that of the human race is concerned, our ministers and the learned generally should not readily dispense with terrapin, as Dr. Parkhurst suggests. Why should they, Doctor? Are the common people not willing that they should have it rather than the money-getters whose business calls into play the lowest animal passions in man which in the end always prove destructive to society because they arrest its ethical progress!

CHAPTER IX

The Workingmen and the Protestant Churches. In the Summer of 1893 a Chicago Socialist spoke at Chautauqua on "the attitude of the workingmen in this country toward the Churches." He divided the workingmen into three classes, so far as religion goes: those who are dominated by the Church and fear it, those indifferent to it, and those hostile to it. In the first category he places all the Catholic Irish workingmen and those of the Protestant faith living in regions only slightly touched by modern culture. In the second category he places the Protestant workingmen living on farms and in country towns, and in the third, a majority of the Protestant workingmen employed in the larger cities and in the centers of industry.

This somewhat sensational statement is not without foundation. Infidelity is in this country probably much more frequent proportionately among the uneducated rich than among the poor. American workingmen generally are not yet altogether removed from religious influences. But it cannot be denied that an immense majority of wage earners distrust the Churches and the ministry as supposed instruments of plutocracy for the repression of the masses. Such a sentiment seems to augur ill for society, should its existence depend on orthodox belief in its divine origin. Under a continuance of the present economic and social conditions with their tendency to enlarge the gulf between the classes it will be but a question of time when this majority will gradually drift into infidelity and into the Socialistic Labor Party. A social revolution would then be imminent. Though this party appears as yet as an exotic plant on American soil, under a continuance of the conditions mentioned, it may before long be destined to exert, either in its present form or more probably in an *American garb*, a momentous, possibly most destructive influence on American society.

With the exception of the Irish, the workingmen are no longer induced by promises of rich spiritual compensa-

tion in the life to come to endure all the artificial hardships of earthly existence. For all practical purposes, our economic, social, and political future will depend on the moral and political action of the workingmen massed in the big cities and in the centers of industry. Their intellectual, economic, and social advancement is therefore a religious and a political question, each of mighty import, and it appears to be the imperative duty of the Protestant ministry to labor incessantly to this end and to study intelligently, and without bias of any sort, the effect of the ethical and economic forces on the constitution of society, the so-called "Social Question" which in its substance in nothing more or less than *the struggle of the intellectual class to control society* and of the individual to enjoy his inherent right to a proper portion of whatever nature or his toil produces. The various religious systems when first they came into existence recognized this right under different forms to an extent which the progress of thought or civilization at the time demanded or taught *to be politic*. Christ gave to this demand manifold and distinct expression; in fact, the Christian Church, before its elevation to the position of a State-institution and the evolvement of a hierarchy and consequent theocracy, in its worldly adaptation relied exclusively upon the desire of the individual for the enjoyment of this inherent right.

So long as the human mind sought for worldly progress and the highest moral and material attainments solely through or in religious faith, the embodiment of this desire was always clothed in a religious garb. The Reformation formed the spiritual arch over which the thought of the philosopher—so far as the relations of man to society were concerned—was transmitted to the realm of politics, from cloister shades to the realistic demands of every day life; that is to say: in the relations of men to one another or to society, the advancement in science gradually brought about a severance between things spiritual and temporal. The spirit of meekness in the masses, and their faith and trust in a future, so far as it promised a recompense for the hardships of earthly life, departed, and for the first time in history the desire of the masses for the amelioration of their condition was formulated in a purely worldly manner, in the *Declaration of Independence*, where it says:

"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed

by their *Creator* with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty, and the *pursuit of happiness*. That to secure *these* rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their *just* powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever *any form* of government becomes destructive of *these* ends it is the right of the people to *alter* or to *abolish* it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to *them* shall seem most likely to effect *their* safety and *happiness*."

From the date of this declaration the social question grew by degrees to its present embodiment and its solution will decide the future of the Protestant Churches in America. Should they remain servants of Mammon and continue to set themselves against the spirit of the times, the plans of the Papacy as to Christian unity and the supremacy of Rome in the United States will be carried into effect or a social revolution will change the whole scheme of our moral and religious life. But should the Protestant clergy marshal the army of events in the spirit of the *Declaration of Independence*, Christian unity will mean the union of all the Protestant Churches and of the masses of the people in the brotherhood of humanity.

PART X
FROM ROME TO WASHINGTON
CHAPTER I

An American Patrimonium Petri. So long as the people in a democratic community are of the same race and on a level in intellectual, economic, and social conditions, a priesthood, in the spirit and in the flesh foreign to the people and subject to the orders of a foreign power, cannot exercise a controlling political influence for the simple reason that the people do not believe in a divinely appointed order of government. But from the moment that in such a republic the social order is disturbed, either through the absorption into the body politic of numerous elements of other races of inferior intellect and of a superstitious character, or by a process of division into castes or into the very rich and poor, it is but a question of time when the people will be deprived of their liberties and coerced by the classes or be priest-ridden and so come to submit to a *de facto* theocratic government.

The recognition of this historical truth had directed the thoughts of Leo XIII towards the United States as the land of promise. Certain infallible signs seem to indicate that his Holiness had a clear perception as to the ultimate outcome of European affairs in their relation to the Papacy, and that his endeavors at Christian unity in Europe and a reëstablishment of France in the hegemony of that continent must fail. It is doubtful whether he ever really cherished the presumptuous hope of changing the course of events in Europe. There is much to sanction the assumption that from the beginning of his Pontificate he directed his thoughts towards the United States as the future home of the Papacy. The economic, political, social, and moral grounds for assuming the possibility of the permanent establishment of the Papacy as the supreme spiritual and temporal government in the United States, have been set forth. The question is, can the Papacy succeed?

The migration of the Papacy to the United States is possible only under the condition that it either can acquire by purchase or grant a *Patrimonium Petri* on American soil or that the Presidency of the United States and the Pontificate can be united in one person. A religious-political institution like the Papacy, representing 240,000,000 of people of divers races and many nationalities, can only exist as an independent political power, as an organic whole; it cannot merge into other political institutions or become coördinate thereto, or dependent thereon, without either being swallowed up or reduced to a national plant and a Primateship. The religious-social-political conditions prevailing in a democracy would sooner or later exert their leveling and dissolving influences. Once reduced in its ecclesiastical and political status to obedience to the laws and to conformity with the customs of any country, the Papacy must lose its cosmopolitan character and drop its claim to the succession of St. Peter. It is this peculiarity of the Papal institution, its historical and cosmopolitan character, which prevents the establishment of a *modus vivendi* between the Vatican and the Quirinal. The very moment that the Papacy would surrender its claim to the *Patrimonium Petri*, that is to temporal sovereignty, it would also surrender its position as the head of a universal church and its claim to universal dominion and accept as its legal ecclesiastical and political status the Primate of the National Italian Church. Every Catholic nation would be forced immediately to sever its Catholic clerical body from the Papacy and to set up a national ecclesiastical establishment. The Papacy would therewith virtually cease to exist.

As a resident or citizen of the United States the Pope, like every other ordinary mortal, would be subject to the laws of the land and to those regulating the intercourse of nations. Should he continue to meddle with the affairs of nations, these would be justified in holding our government responsible for any act of his Holiness threatening their welfare or affecting their sovereignty. For instance, should the Pope instruct the faithful in any European country to oppose any measure of their government or how they should vote, the United States could justly be charged with an unfriendly act of interference in the internal affairs of friendly nations. There would be no end of trouble and our government would be forced either to expel or punish

his Holiness and risk a Catholic insurrection or *de facto* submit to the Papal claim of sovereignty and risk a foreign war.

The spirit of independence manifest in this country under democratic institutions and their leveling influences must affect the Papacy as a resident institution in a detrimental manner and gradually but irresistibly destroy its authority in the country of its adoption. Sooner or later the Catholic prelates would exert their independence. Then the Papacy must either suffer reduction to its original sphere of authority or accept the Primate of the Catholic Church of America, a position which in a democracy may be one of great glory and distinction but is certain to be one of little authority and of financial dependence. Besides, the faithful might lose that veneration for his Holiness and the Papacy which springs from superstition and is sustained by distance and seclusion. Intimacy breeds contempt. Imagine the effect of sensational articles in our newspapers publishing to the world the scandals of the Papal Court, the corruption and licentiousness of its officers and hangers on, the luxury of its surroundings, the riches squandered by the princes of the church, the irreverence, debauchery, and atheism of the army of ecclesiastical courtiers, the mockery of Christian virtue and humility! All this is well known to the Roman populace who loathe the Papal institution and the Papal court. Imagine the results of the application of the standard of Anglo-Saxon morality to the moral or rather immoral life of the Papal Court! Such revelations, and the close scrutiny which our institutions permit would certainly break the spell of superstition and awe under which Paddy and Bridget and Binbolo are parting with their pennies for the gratification of priestly licentiousness and political intrigues. The Papal court can exist only in the seclusion of the Vatican or in a Papal State governed in the mediæval fashion and from which the reporter and public opinion are rigorously excluded. Of course Leo XIII and his advisers thoroughly understood the conditions they would have to meet here as ordinary residents and, therefore, they were fully convinced of the impracticability of transporting the Papacy to the United States without first acquiring an exceptional status and securing the conditions necessary for its mediæval existence. What then are the chances

that the Papacy may acquire such a status and secure such conditions?

Certainly, at present, particularly so far as surface indications may be trusted, these chances appear to be very remote and altogether barred, unless a fundamental change is wrought in our political life. But of all organic institutions of the civilized world, the Papacy, resting on ignorance and superstition, is the one best qualified to wait for the creation of conditions favorable to its policy and aims. It has twice survived long periods of exile, it may survive another such catastrophe and wait in some corner of the world until the progress of demoralization and Romanization of the rapidly increasing heterogeneous population of the United States creates the conditions necessary to its mediæval existence. Within a few generations many States now Protestant will have become Catholic. Canada and her millions of French-speaking Catholics and parts or the whole of Mexico with her Catholic Creole and Indian population may then have been annexed. To extend slavery the planter aristocracy of the South forced us into a war of conquest with Mexico. The Roman camarilla demanded the annexation of the Philippines and of Porto Rico. The Romanists and their auxiliaries who, without positively joining the band of Southern aristocrats, encourage and assist it, though affecting to repudiate it, may force us into another war of conquest to annex millions of ignorant Catholic peons. Whenever the Southern States shall have fully entered into industrialism, provided the present social order continues, they will again and most likely permanently control the National government and directly and indirectly favor the Papal project.

If the majority of the voters of any State were Catholics, respectively Romanists, they could not only, so far as any bar in the Federal Constitution is concerned, make Catholicism the established Church within their State but also set aside a *Patrimonium Petri* or so change the Constitution of their State as to make the Pope and the Roman theocracy their virtual rulers. Should Canada join the Union—all Romanists favor her annexation—such a State would immediately be available for the Papal scheme. A majority of the inhabitants of the province of Quebec are French-speaking Canadians of the most superstitious character. Should they decide to enter the Union as a State, they would do so

with a State Constitution which they would frame and which might regulate religious, educational, social, and political matters precisely as they should see fit. Might they not decide that the Pope and the Roman theocracy should be the rulers of their commonwealth! In a short space of time the majority of the voters of some of the New England States and perhaps of the State of New York and of other States will be Catholics, French-speaking Canadians, Irish and their descendants, Creoles and Italians. Might they not so change the Constitution of their respective States as to further the Papal desire of finding a permanent lodgment of a sovereign character on American soil!

There is another way of providing the Papacy with a *Patrimonium Petri* on American soil. Large tracts of land are either the property of Indians or of the nation. The Indian reservations are exempt from the operations of the Federal law and the owners are invested with certain sovereign or ex-territorial rights. So far as any bar in the Federal Constitution is concerned, Congress might transfer these rights to any purchaser, that is, Congress might ratify any treaty entered into between a purchaser and the Indians. Should the Pope leave Rome voluntarily, or be expelled from the Vatican and the former Papal State, he would lose his sovereign character and thereafter be qualified to own real estate in the United States. The question is, would Congress and the Executive legalize such a bargain? A Congress composed of the sort of politicians who now make up the National legislature would certainly not object, nor a President of the antecedents and of the personal and political character of Mr. Roosevelt or Taft, interpose his veto. Where there is a will, there is a way. Providentially, we were saved in the last election from many unknown evils which might have emanated from another such national assemblage with a possible President of the Roosevelt or Taft stripe to match it.

Whether it would suit the purposes of the Pope to have the Papacy transplanted in such a manner and to wait patiently through a long period for the gradual extension and augmentation of its power to attain the climax of supreme authority in the Union is another question. The experiences the Papacy had during the centuries of the growth and decline of its temporal power with the many independent Italian States and their warring interests and

with the always interfering central power of the German kings in their capacity as Roman emperors claiming and often exercising authority over these States, do not promise success for these plans in a union of many political units with a central power, the creature of the popular will of a majority of these units or States. Before the Papacy could effect a safe lodgment, or supplant the central power, this power, or civil war, might drive it from American soil. A *Patrimonium Petri* or Papal control of any one State would arouse the violent opposition of the Protestant communities and cause ceaseless political agitation leading to civil war. It would not secure to the Papacy the means to destroy in short order the Protestant character of the nation or to control its financial resources and its political and military power. The political and financial position of the Papacy would be similar to that held by it while the Papal State in Italy was still in existence, that is, one of doubtful tenure and of continued financial dependence on the offerings of the faithful in other countries of whom it no longer could exact the tribute of fealty. In point of fact, the Papacy would depend for its independent existence on the will of a fickle populace, possibly always in their majority either irreligious or of the Protestant faith. Nevertheless, the creation of a Papal State within the United States in the manner pointed out is possible, provided Romanism through insidious means continues to grow as rapidly as it did during the last decades. Yet, to the careful student of the new Papal policy it appears more likely *that Leo XIII aimed at the direct control of the financial, political, and military power of the United States and, therefore, at a personal union of the Presidency and Papacy.* Is such a union possible?

CHAPTER II

President and Pontifex. Since the Papacy has been deprived of its temporal sovereignty, there is no longer any constitutional bar to the election of a Pope of American parentage or birth to the Presidency of the United States. For instance, should Cardinal Gibbons be elected Pope, he could also be elected President of the United States. That is possible, though not probable, in as much as the candidacy of a Pope must for some time to come concentrate the Protestant vote on the rival candidate. But there is another road over which the Papacy might suddenly and unexpectedly reach the White House.

Nothing in the constitution of the Catholic Church prevents the elevation of a President of the United States to the Pontificate provided he lives in celibacy. *The law of the Church permits the election of a layman to the Pontificate and the appointment of persons not in holy orders as Cardinals.* Since the times of Pius IV, 1559-1565, there has been a law that the Cardinals should choose one of their number as Pope, and that had been the custom for two hundred years, ever since the time of Boniface IX, 1399. This law, however, has not been enacted by an ecumenical council but only by the College of Cardinals and may, therefore, be repealed by this body at any time while sitting as an electoral college.

History tells us of four Popes who were laymen at the time of their election and were ordained afterwards: St. Anterus, 238-239, John XII, who became Pope when 16 years old, Benedict IX, who was only 10 years old, and Crescentius, a Roman patrician, who, as John XIX, directed the affairs of the "Church of divine origin" from 1024 to 1028. So far as legal obstacles are concerned it appears not impossible that in time to come a President of the United States may be elected Pope. He would stand in the same relation to Church and State as the rulers of Russia, England, and Germany. Though then the religious, moral, and economic conditions were not of a character

admitting such a move, yet all other things, constitutional and political, were favorable to such a union years ago. Let us examine into circumstances and their possibilities. Had David Bennett Hill, Governor of New York, been nominated by the Democratic Convention at Chicago in 1892, he would undoubtedly have been elected. Politically our people act often without forethought and on the spur of the moment, and then elections are decided on issues of only momentary importance and little weight, or by the fancies or temporary economic necessities of the masses; facts which entered largely into the calculations of Leo XIII. We should then have had in the Presidential office a bachelor and a tool of Rome, who either had already embraced the Roman Catholic faith or might have done so at any moment, always provided, that we draw the proper conclusions from his mental and moral qualities and from his personal and political antecedents. In a majority of the States of the Union the pro-Roman Democratic party was then in power. The Senate consisted of Romanists, corruptionists, and plutocrats, the House of Representatives of a miscellaneous rabble of mediocre, greedy, and corrupt politicians. The Supreme Court of the United States represented, as it did for two generations, the moneyed power in this country and Europe. In the most important cities the Irish rabble and the criminal classes, to whom Hill had always catered politically, were dominant.

As there are always vacancies in the College of Cardinals Mr. Hill could have been appointed a member thereof. History shows that Popes often die at the most opportune moment. Leo XIII, a very old man, might have resigned in order not to lose the opportunity to realize the fruits and dreams of his Pontificate. Then Hill could have been elected Pope and placed in holy orders. He would then have been legally elected President of the United States and the legally elected head of the Catholic Church. The astonishment and furor of Protestant America he might coolly have met with the phrase, made historical by Tweed of Tammany fame when he was charged with the theft of twenty millions: "What are you going to do about it?"

Open opposition to the Pope-President would have been insurrection. Renominated by the Democratic party with the assistance of our Ultramontane party he would have manipulated the Presidential election of 1896 in that

peculiar manner of his which placed him repeatedly in the Governor's chair of the State of New York. The man who manipulated the theft of a State was fully qualified to steal the Presidency. Besides he had a case of precedence to fall back upon: the Presidential muddle of 1876. Fraud of any kind bears evil fruit. Before long the theft of the Presidency in 1876 may bear such fruit. Had the Protestants risen in insurrection, Hill would have had the advantage of having the law on his side, of commanding the army, navy, and militia. Thousands of officers and tens of thousands of the file are Romanists. Most likely the entire South would have supported him. He would have been in possession of the great marts of the country, of its financial and industrial centers, of New York, Boston, Chicago, New Orleans and St. Louis, with their so-called underground population, always ready to support any political rascal and any cause that promises booty and the suppression of the orderly and prosperous elements of society. The arsenals, forts, navy yards, and military depots would have been at his disposal, also the immense riches of the Catholic establishment in this country, of its plutoeraey and moneyed power, and the fighting material of the ten millions of Irish already organized in parishes and their secret, often military, societies. In the course of time the Constitution might have been changed as to the mode of election and term of office of the President to secure a life tenure and the permanent union of this office and that of the Papaey. Protestantism might have prevailed at the close of a terrible civil war which would have devastated the country and destroyed millions of lives and millions in treasure. Protestantism *might* have prevailed—the experience of the War of the Rebellion shows clearly the advantages which in such a struggle Romanism would have enjoyed. What would have been the result of the great Southern conspiracy had the South controlled at the outset and during the war the financial and economic resources of the country, the army and navy, all the arsenals, fortifications, navy yards, and depots in the North, the moneyed power, and above all things the centers of trade and industry, at the same time representing the legitimate government of the United States? In 1861 the Northern people were a compact body of Protestants moved by the spirit of democraey, untainted by corruption and untouched by the evils flowing from

industrial feudalism. Nevertheless, this splendid social and political body, unequaled in the annals of history, was suddenly overwhelmed by the Southern conspiracy. Gigantic efforts and immense sacrifices in blood and treasure saved it from annihilation. Then only the few had a foreboding of the approaching calamity, only the few tried to arouse the Northern people from lethargy that they might prepare for the political whirlwind and an irrepressible conflict, but the warnings of the prophets of evil were lost in the turmoil of every day life and in the clatter and "halali" of the mad chase after the almighty dollar. Shall history repeat itself?

In the age of science and rapid progress events march with giant strides. After the first election of Lincoln few thought that his administration would be marked by the most dramatic war in history and his martyrdom. Few only gave serious thought to the Southern conspiracy; the vast majority held it to be the vapoing expression of Southern bravado. How many of us were then able to comprehend the possibility of the emancipation of five millions of slaves and of their enfranchisement, of great armies battling for the mastership on our soil, of millions of graves and widows and orphans! Who thought that within a few years of Lincoln's election a negro, born a slave, could be elected a Senator of the United States! Who ever had thought of a Confederacy, of a rival President within the territory of the republic, of the desertion of officers of the army and navy, of a treacherous cabinet, of the seizure of forts, navy yards and ships! A Pope in the Presidential chair is no less a possibility than has been the President of the Confederacy, the embodiment of all the anti-social forces of that day.

In the life of nations the unexpected is always that which is the logical effect of often very remote, though daily operating and augmenting causes which we constantly encounter in the ordinary routine of life and in every walk thereof. The trouble is, that their very ubiquity and continuity dull our senses and thus prevent our taking notice, that they are constantly operating to produce their logical and inevitable result. The history of the Romish Church in the United States should give us ample warning of a rapidly approaching danger. From the consecration of the first bishop in Baltimore to the arrival of the Deputy-Pope, Mgr.

Satolli, only a century has elapsed. The first Constitutional Convention of the State of New York, held towards the close of the eighteenth century, disfranchised the Romanists. But for the economic and financial crisis which overtook our people in 1893 and suddenly changed the drift of public opinion and reversed the position of the Republican and Democratic parties, the Constitutional Convention of the same State held in 1894 would undoubtedly have been a Papist body moved by the single purpose of making the Empire State of the Union *de facto* if not *de jure* a dependency of the Papacy.

It is true, that since then the results of the elections have for the time being somewhat disconcerted the plans of the Romanists, yet their power and riches have not been impaired but increased and the loyalty and standing of their secret allies in the ranks of all parties have not been questioned or assailed. Unfortunately these secret allies of Rome, prominent and most influential leaders in every party, are able to protect the true sources of such power and wealth, as they did in the last Constitutional Convention of New York. Their subserviency to the moneyed power places them in the bonds and shackles of Rome. To serve well their masters, the plutocracy, the trusts and corporations, they must serve Rome and further her designs on the liberty of the American people. While the late elections indicate that the masses of the American people are naturally impelled towards the goal of democracy, yet their action is rather due to an unreasoning prompting than to a distinct apprehension of the end or object to be accomplished. The masses were then, are now, and in the nearest future will be without a leadership of sufficient intellectual and ethical capacity to guide them safely and directly to their specific goal. The lack of such leadership is the ban of the American democracy and the opportunity of Rome. But to the calm, dispassionate, sympathetic judgment of a race of Teutonic origin and of the Protestant faith and which, moreover, is not afraid of facing great changes and responsibilities, there has, as yet, been no intelligent and pointed appeal.

The Protestant community of the United States should always remember that in all elections the Romish Church was able to hold its own; that it was able to face the storm of popular indignation with unbroken ranks. In the City

of New York the Church was able to defend its cause and that of its representative political organization, thieving, scoundrelly Tammany Hall. After all the horrible disclosures before the Lexow and other Committees, of Tammany's unspeakable depravity, fostering vice for its usufruct, the Romish priests instructed the faithful to sustain the rascally gang at the polls.

For centuries removed from all religious strifes, the American people had almost forgotten Rome's persecutions of our race, which were the original cause of our political and national existence. Almost faded from the memory of our people, these facts gradually lost their effect on its political reasoning. Therefore, we are justified in saying that until now the Roman Church has been on trial in America. Professing to adapt itself to American principles and habits, a liberal minded public permitted it to gain a foothold and gave it aid and support. The very moment that the Romanists thought their strength sufficient to defy public opinion, they adopted an aggressive policy and interfered with our educational institutions and elections. Instead of adapting itself to American principles and habits, the Romish Church attempts to coerce the people, as it has planted on our soil the institutions of another race and civilization. The Romish Church has the impudence to demand the submission of more than sixty million Americans, who, being divided into all sorts of religious associations, and some having no religious position at all, should be united in their determination that no religious body shall ever control the educational and political institutions of this country. Unfortunately, for reasons already mentioned, they are, as yet, not fully aroused to the true position the Roman Church maintains in its relation to the American nation, a position which does not permit either side to yield through compromise. There must, therefore, be a fight to the finish. It is either Papal rule, spiritually and temporally, or the expulsion of the Papists.

According to the Papal doctrine, God and his eternal law and, therefore, the Roman Catholic Church, which alone is declared the Church of God and His instrument on earth, hold first claims upon conscience. Allegiance to country is therefore limited by allegiance to God and to the Church. A country which enacts the violation of those laws, that is which does not recognize the Church as the only ruler of the

conscience, becomes an aggregation of human wills, which physical force alone sustains, and thus annuls its own moral authority. In other words, every government which does not recognize the spiritual and temporal supreme authority of the Roman Catholic Church is outlawed from the standpoint of Rome, and she is justified, aye, commanded by God to destroy such government and to assume its functions.

Therefore, the government of the United States being such an aggregation of human wills, it must be supplanted by the Papacy. Such is Roman logic!

PART XI
THE MISSION OF OUR DEPUTY POPES
CHAPTER I

ROMAN DIPLOMACY, CUNNING, INSOLENCES, AND DUPLICITY

SECTION I

The National Constitution and Catholic Congresses.
At a time when faith in the supernatural is losing its hold through dangerous questioning, Pope Leo XIII had commissioned an Apostolic delegate, Mgr. Satolli, papal courtier and Archbishop "in partibus" of Lepanto, to exercise control of the Catholic Church in this country and to confer some of the blessings of Papal absolutism on a people, who rebelled against the doctrine of ruling by "divine right," who fought for seven years for the right of self-government, who were ever ready to sacrifice life and treasure to destroy human bondage of any kind, and who rapidly maturing spiritually and politically, will soon be fitted for the apostleship of the humane.

The authority of Mgr. Satolli and of his successors was not clearly defined at the outset; but it is now understood to be *the direct representation of the Pope*, summary ecclesiastical authority of the highest order. Properly to designate the powers of the Papal Legates in legal language, it may be stated, that they have a general power of attorney from the Pope to do anywhere and everywhere that which the Sovereign Pontiff could do, if personally present, and their acts are ratified in advance. Hence they may be called the Deputy-Popes. According to advices from Rome, the Congregation of the Propaganda had gathered the opinion of the religious orders in America as to the advisability of a permanent delegation in our country. These opinions, it is said, greatly favored such an establishment and also the calling of another National Synod of the American hierarchy and the appointment of Cathedral

Charters for the better exercise of the sovereign power of the Pontiff in our republic; that is for the establishment of a well ordered independent State. It is further said, that to this purpose the Deputy Pope has been appointed Legate *a latere*, the most exalted rank to which a representative of the Holy Father can attain. Furthermore, the Church in the United States has been taken wholly out of the jurisdiction of the Propaganda and placed under the personal control of the Deputy. He will therefore exercise the sovereign powers and control, ecclesiastical and temporal, which the *Pontifex Maximus* claims to exercise over the spiritual, social and political life of the peoples of the earth. The Deputy's mission may be compared to that of Cardinal Paparo to Ireland in the twelfth century, whence her misfortunes date.

Mgr. Satolli himself has thus defined this mission. In an address delivered in Washington on Thanksgiving day, 1893, before the students of a Catholic College, an occasion adroitly used to set his policy before the American people, the Papal vice-regent or Proconsul said:

"I will say that whoever *seriously meditates* on the principles of the American Constitution, whoever is acquainted with the *present conditions* of the American Republic, should be persuaded and agree with us that the action of Catholic faith and morality is favorable in every way *to the direction in which the Constitution turns*. For the more public opinion and the Government favor the Catholic schools, more and more will the welfare of the Commonwealth be advanced. The Catholic education is the surest safeguard of the permanence throughout the centuries of the Constitution and the best guide of the Republic in civil progress. From this source the Constitution will gather that assimilation so necessary for the perfect organization of that progressive body which is the American Republic.

"That is the sincere expression of conviction and so to speak the profession of my faith in this matter. Up to the present it has been inexplicable to me and never perhaps shall I find out what was the origin of the suspicion that my views were not favorable to Catholic schools. Those who at first or ever after have attributed to me such an absurd opinion ought to point to some word or action of mine to justify themselves. Had I spoken differently, I

should be unfaithful to my mission, and moreover I should have given the lie to my first and unchangeable convictions. Every Catholic school is a safe guardian of youth, and it is at the same time for the American youth a place of training where they are brought up for the advantage of Church and country.

“Grant heaven that the Catholic schools may continue, increase in number, grow stronger, reach the highest perfection, endowed with the blessings of God, *commanded by the authority of the Church and the Holy Father*, honored and appreciated by every honest citizen, from the illustrious President down to the most humble workman. Those only are against them who do not know them or *who are not animated by the spirit of the Church and are wanting the sentiments of true liberty.*”

The logic of this is, that if the American people and the American government will not sustain and uphold the Roman Catholic schools, the surest safeguard of the Constitution and of the Republic will be withdrawn. Thus, if the Papacy cannot rule the Republic and coerce it, it will oppose and, so far as it can, ruin the Republic. The agitation on the school question on the part of the Roman Catholic Church is based on the fact that the people cannot be held to the Roman Catholic faith unless the distinctive teachings of that Church are inculcated in early youth. *Therefore, the Church must either destroy our system of public education and to do this must acquire the political mastery over the Republic, or it must, dropping its ambitious designs, destroy the Republic. To accomplish the one or the other is the mission of the Deputy Popes.*

To acquire the political mastery it is necessary to organize a Catholic Party like the clerical party in the Reichstag in Germany or the Irish party in the English Parliament. Here again we have Mgr. Satolli's own statement as to such a purpose. In a letter, dated September 4, 1894, and addressed to the Congress of the German Roman Catholic Union of the United States, then meeting in New York City, Mgr. Satolli says:

“During this century the enemies of the Catholic Church have tried every manner of means to destroy these institutions (of the monastic life), and they have done nothing but heap up ruins, *and according to the new times she soon created also new forms of Catholic associations.* The

enemies of the Church wanted the secularization of Catholicism, and the Catholics have answered by the Catholic congresses. The history of Germany shall have golden pages to record the institution and the advantages of the Catholic congresses, from which sprang the Catholic center, the body which was the primary cause of the collapse, more or less complete, of the sadly famous Kulturkampf.

"The character of the Catholic congresses requires that they should harmonize with the spirit of the Church, and they prove *very useful* whenever, being celebrated under the patronage of the ecclesiastical authorities, such resolutions are adopted by them as are required by the interests of the Catholic faith and the conditions of social life.

"Certainly the usefulness and necessity of such societies and Conventions can easily be proved by the salutary effects already accomplished through them."

It is to be regretted that the astute Romish priest and Italian statesman has found it so difficult to understand how the suspicion originated that his views were not favorable to Catholic schools. It is to be regretted that Mgr. Satolli was made the victim of a Jesuitical trick, to gull the American public into the belief that the widely advertised new policy of his Holiness, of which Mgr. Satolli was the bearer, was one of liberalism and in favor of specific American institutions. Nevertheless, the trick served well the purposes of the Monsignor. It allayed the suspicions of the American people as to his mission. Speculating on our gullibility, on our provincial pride and prejudices, and on our want of knowledge of Romish diplomacy, cunning, and duplicity, Mgr. Satolli was enabled to have a house-warming instead of being turned back and at once from our shores. Had the immense majority of the American people suspected the real character of his mission and the purport of his secret instructions, had they suspected that in his person we are to have an American Pope in fact or in effect, they never would have permitted Mgr. Satolli to pose as a sovereign prince and a general meddler with affairs, and to assume an aggressive and, therefore, offensive position.

The Americans are, as yet, not at all anxious to be adopted by the Pontiff since their energetic life and their strength makes them totally independent, and they are sufficiently matured in ethics and politics to get along without Papal

fostering care, without Papal Punic love for the United States and for their Constitution. The late Bishop Cox in a public letter addressed to Mgr. Satolli expresses genuine American sentiment in saying "Strong nations are naturally self-reliant. Under God, it is their inalienable right to be so. To prefer the paternal care of any foreign court to such a nation is an impertinence. Spain accepted it when she was mighty, and has enjoyed the full benefit of such nursing for centuries. If you ask for the results, look at her. You profess to admire our institutions. Reflect that our fundamental institution is the right of self-government. For centuries France has maintained bars and bolts to keep out just such visitors as you."

The American people are the sovereigns of the State, and will brook no interference with their sovereignty by plutocracy or ecclesiastical rulers. That is the unalterable American principle. They do not want the blessings or missions of the Pontiff, or his love, or his system that has laid waste the fairest gardens of Europe and by its touch blighted every land of promise.

Mgr. Satolli spoke of "the authority of the Church and of the Holy Father, honored and appreciated by every honest citizen of the United States." Now, where is this authority mentioned in the Constitution, or when and where have the American people conferred it upon the Holy Father, or recognized it, or submitted to it? Why should the sixty millions of Protestants in this country honor the Holy Father who at certain rites annually performed by him curses all heretics, ourselves included, and calls upon the God of love, justice, and mercy to exterminate them and to hurl them into eternal death! Our Capitalist rulers and political bosses may honor the Holy Father as a political ally and protector, but it is beyond our comprehension, why the most humble workman of Protestant faith or sufficiently enlightened to know his cause, should honor the head of a Church that has always supported class rule and to-day, through his Deputy offers his services *quid pro quo* to Capitalism and our rotten lawmakers for the lasting enslavement of American labor.

As a priest of a theocratic church that has ever suppressed every thought and action of a progressive nature, that has sanctioned the Inquisition and the Autos-da-fé, that has imprisoned, tortured and executed the most noble

of mankind for their endeavor to elevate mankind, this Italian has the impudence to charge sixty millions of Protestant Americans with "wanting the sentiments of true liberty." This representative of a system that has kept the masses of Christendom in ignorance and economic slavery and in his own country at the lowest stage of civilization, and that allied itself with bandits to sustain Bourbonism and despotism, thus traduces a people who have sacrificed millions of lives and millions in treasure on the altar of humanity, setting an example to all mankind in their aspirations for freedom and civic virtue, who freed millions of slaves and proclaimed freedom of conscience and the equality of man when all Christendom was in spiritual and political bondage. The lone fact, that the Deputy Pope, the bearer of the Pandora box containing all the ills which the Roman Church has ever spread over Christendom, still walks unmolested on American soil, is conclusive proof that "the American people are not wanting the sentiments of true liberty" *but are wanting, and badly too, the sentiment of properly dealing with the Roman Church* and such slanderers as her representatives are. They may acquire it, though! Thank God, that the American people are, as yet, not animated by the spirit of that Church, of which Goethe says: "that spirit that always wills the evil."

"The present condition of the American Republic and the direction in which the Constitution turns" are to the Deputy Popes seemingly matters of high concern. We ought to be profoundly thankful to the Holy Father and to these Deputy Popes that they kindly interest themselves in matters which, until now, were thought to be the exclusive province of the political action of the American people. True, the present condition of the Republic is not at all satisfactory to a majority of our people. Whenever the American people are fully aroused to the necessity of a change in said condition, they will insist on it in a manner of their own, though hardly satisfactory to the Popes or to the parties responsible for the present condition. Appearances indicate that the people have of late determined on such a change. Without a correct knowledge of the seat of the evil, of its extent, and of its true causes they have experimented in various directions, for instance, when through the last election they decided to resent every inter-

ference of the Roman Church in their affairs, to hurl its serfs, the Irish, from power, and to block the path over which McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft and their Jesuit masters had made their way to the White House.

As to "the direction in which the Constitution turns," the American people are beginning to understand Satolli's conception of things and also the phrase "Catholic faith and morality is favorable in every way to said direction." What he thought is this: the Constitution favors the growth of Capitalism and Plutocratic rule and can and will be used for the political and economic enslavement of the masses and for the aggrandizement of plutocracy. Catholic faith keeps the masses in ignorance and therefore in servitude. Catholic discipline does not contemplate excommunication for violation of the moral code, but only for lapse from the faith and refusal to obey ecclesiastical directions, therefore, Catholic morality sanctions political corruption whenever the church profits thereby, the despoilment of the masses and their economic and political enslavement whenever it is to the advantage of theocratic ambition. The Deputy Popes offer an alliance offensive and defensive to plutocracy and to our reactionary elements generally, the *quid pro quo* being that the authority of the Pontiff should be recognized and the church participate in the profits. "Addition, division, and silence" has been the motto of our despoilers and of the Catholic Irish politicians. The Deputy Pope wants to enlarge its sphere and make the motto of the United States "Addition, division and Popery." Whenever the American people shall be convinced of the defective or reactionary nature of the Constitution, on which he relies in the execution of his evil design on their liberty, they will insist on radical changes or abolish it, and then it may happen that they will bury his system, the mediæval system of economics, and the Constitution in a common grave. They may hoist another Liberty flag inscribed on one side "No Popery" and on the other "No Plutocracy."

Mr. Satolli's implied threats to ruin the Republic if the demands of the Roman hierarchy are not complied with, can only mean that they will invite open insurrection and enlist therein the turbulent and destructive elements which their Church controls and for whose action it may be justly held responsible. The history of the War of the

Rebellion, of the July riots in New York and Boston in 1863 and of the June riot in New York in 1871 ought to teach him that the American people know perfectly well how to deal with "the powerful conservative forces" as Mr. Satolli chose at another occasion to call these turbulent and reactionary elements of our population. Or, if it should be the intention of the hierarchy to unleash the diabolic spirits of anarchy and to intimidate society by dynamite and assassination as was done by the Roman Church in France, Spain and Italy where it partly succeeded in bending society and governments to nearly Jesuitical purposes, there is no doubt that the attempt would fail, as it must fail in England and Germany. Such an attempt on the moral and political life of the Teutonic nations would rouse the *furor Teutonicus* with the result that Anarchism and the agencies employing it would be completely overwhelmed and buried in eternal oblivion.

SECTION II

A Voice from Rome. It cannot be denied that the religious education in the Roman Catholic parochial schools is a conservative force in society as now constituted. The Roman Church is arrayed against all social agitation which seeks to disrupt society and demolish its safeguards. But it is for the American people to say whether society, as it now exists, in its mediæval form and with its many shortcomings, is and shall remain their ideal, or whether they want it changed in form and essence, so that the American nation may keep pace with the progress of philosophical thought and of science, of Christian faith, hope, and charity, and hence profit from the economic and material evolution of the age.

The warrant for the meddling of bishops and priests in our affairs they hold to be the right of anybody coming here to instruct people in their religious duties. They say, if the English king were the head of the Episcopal Church here, there would be nothing impertinent in his sending over the Archbishop of Canterbury to tell the American Episcopalians how under the obligations of their religion, they must vote or what must be their attitude towards the public schools. He would, so they contend, simply be following our example in sending Bishops and other missionaries to tell the Chinese, the Japanese, the

Indians, and the Mohammedans what they ought to do for the elevation of their souls.

But in the first place, our Bishops and missionaries do not represent a Church with a head claiming infallibility and universal dominion, ecclesiastical and temporal. In the second place, in the countries visited by our missionaries there are not millions of their own faith and race exercising sovereign rights. In the third place, the governments of countries in which these missionaries labor have always jealously restricted them to their legitimate sphere. Whenever they meddled with public affairs, the governments exercised their sovereignty by expelling the offenders against international comity and the ethics of their holy calling; political and sovereign acts which have always been recognized by our government as within the province of the police power of the most savage government and within the scope of international law. It perplexes the student of history and the American mind that the Roman partisans choose the hypothetical authority of the English king as a point of comparison with the character of the spiritual mission of the Deputy Popes if we admit it to be such only. The American people have definitely settled this very point a century ago when they rebelled against the authority of King George and his government in the Colonies on the very supposition which is here laid down as an excuse for Papal interference in our domestic affairs, of which the administration of the public schools is under our form of government the most important, in fact, the vital part, because the fundamental ethical principles that lie at the base of all our political institutions must be inculcated in every generation. Inasmuch as the spiritual life of a people is the source of their political life, their spiritual and political manifestations being interdependent and inseparable, the Apostolic Delegate is interfering with our political life when he admonishes citizens of the Republic to be faithful to the dogma of the infallibility, since this denies the sovereignty of our people. It would have been well for Leo XIII to have studied the causes of the American Rebellion before he entrusted Mr. Sartolli with his spiritual and political mission.

The War of Independence decided once for all that the American people will not be guided in their spiritual life by any foreign authority nor will they permit any part of

our population, however large and influential, to be guided by any nitlander from across the ocean. To grant such permission would amount to a cession of sovereignty. The American people have solved the difficult problem of maintaining harmonious relations between Church and State. In the nearest future they will also solve the more difficult problem of a unity of all Christians, the heart-felt desire of millions, and to educe from such unity an ideal form of government and a social organism based on the ethics of the Reformation and of our race. Then the State will hold over the Catholic religion the aegis of its protection, always provided it has meanwhile ceased to be a foreign plant.

It served the purpose of the Deputy Popes diplomatically to deny that their mission included any interference in political matters and that their Church had any intention to so interfere, or acted in a spirit of intolerance or duplicity. As to the value of these assertions let us accept the testimony of a priest of that Church against whom never a breath of suspicion or of scandal was raised.

Years ago Catholic society was greatly surprised at the sudden resignation of the Rev. Father A. Lambert as a member of the religious order of the Redemptorists, an offshoot of the Jesuits. After many years of mission work Father Lambert had been stationed for five years in Brooklyn, N. Y. His canonical standing being perfectly regular and unquestioned his letter of resignation should be read and observed by all Protestant Americans whenever the Church denies any interference in American politics, avers constant love for what is true and right, its only principle and guide from which it has never swerved to become the slave of ambition for temporal power. Part of Father Lambert's letter of resignation, addressed to Rev. Father Raus, C. S. S. R., reads as follows:

"I freely and deliberately withdraw from the priesthood and communion of the Roman Catholic Church. The decision I now take is the outcome of a very long mental struggle and much thought and it is not without sorrow I have come to it, for it is always hard to sever the relations of twenty-one years. But I could not forever resist the voice of my conscience. I had to obey it at last and the logical consequence of that obedience is the step I now take. *Knowing what I know, having seen what I saw, and*

heard in the Roman Catholic Church, I cannot any longer force my mind into submission to the Vatican, nor can I longer admit the claim of the Roman Catholic Church and clergy to rule not only in religious questions, but also in purely scientific, social and even political matters.

“The intolerance and duplicity which, almost from the day of my ordination to the priesthood, I found and met in the Roman Catholic Church have become utterly unbearable to me. . . I could not act otherwise than I do now. Had I remained any longer in the Roman Catholic Church after coming to this decision I would have debased my manhood, and that I could not do, and, with God’s help, never will do.

“Though leaving the Church at Rome and renouncing the priesthood, I do not forget and never will forget to cherish the memory of the many good and dear friends whom I must leave to travel their own path. We are separated! I shall not interfere with them and I hope they will not interfere with me. What I shall do is my own personal affair. We live in a free country.”

CHAPTER II

THE AMERICAN SALOON AND JESUITICAL MORALITY

The mission of the Deputy Popes includes the charge to effect a change in the social status of the Church in this country. Until Mr. Satolli's appearance it had been an Irish establishment. Though the Church had been extensively proselytizing in the circles of our upper-ten-thousand, yet, it had failed to conform in customs and ethical laws with American notions and provincialisms. The new policy of Leo XIII towards the United States demanded that such a change, superficial in character, should be made immediately and with sensational effect. With the quick perception of the Italian statesman of the Machiavelian school Mr. Satolli early discovered our national weakness for "isms" of all kinds and that peculiar hysteria or national fury which, as the French say "spills the babe with the bath." Relying further on the advice of Archbishop Ireland, a prohibitionist, it was quite natural that Mr. Satolli should select teetotalism as the first "ism" to demonstrate the Church's brand new conversion to progressive ideas and its loyalty to the American principle of personal liberty. The desire of the Church to forsake Bridget and Patrick, to leave the shadow of the saloon, to move from the kitchen into the parlor and a respectable American neighborhood was scenically set before the people with a stage trick of a high order.

To those acquainted with the history of the Church in Europe and in this country, the decree of Mr. Satolli, in which he said "that the liquor traffic, and especially as conducted here in the United States, is the source of much evil," is a most humorous composition with the moral "that the Church is playing one of its old tricks," this time gulling the cold water people for the Church's political service. Let us call their attention to Cardinal Gibbons' remark "that the discipline of the Church is changeable, just as man himself is ever the same in his essential characteristics,

while his dress varies according to the fashions of the times" and "the Church adapts itself to all times and places and circumstances, and this she does *without any compromise of principle.*"

Now, what are the principles of the Church as to the liquor traffic? There is not a Catholic book which preaches or even recommends total abstinence. In all monasteries "*liquida non frangunt*" is recognized. The monasteries in the wine producing countries of the United States are wine growers. The late Bishop McQuade of Rochester, N. Y., owned extensive vineyards. In Europe a large number of monasteries manufacture celebrated brands of liquors and cultivate grapes and sell wines of world wide reputation. There, even nuns brew beer. Did Mr. Satolli ever enjoy in a refectory the jolly after dinner song of the choir

"Vinum bonum cum sapore
Bibit abbas cum priore
Et conventus de pejore
Bibit cum tristitia."

The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore decreed (lit. VIII cap. III S 3): "Monemus denique nostros fideles, qui liquorum inebriantium mercaturam faciunt, ut serio recogitent, quod quantisque periculis peccatisque occasionibus eorum quaestus, quamvis in se non illicitus, sit circumdatus. . . Honestiorem rationem sustentandi vitam, si possunt, seligant. . . Camponas suas die Dominica clausas servant. . ." "We recommend to the faithful who deal in intoxicating liquors, seriously to consider, that their calling, though it is permissible, has many dangers and offers opportunities to sin. . . If they can, they shall choose another calling. . . They shall keep their saloons closed on Sunday."

A Jesuit author and dogmatician of great renown, Father Gury, says in his "*Casus Conscientiae*," which is a guide for the confessional:

"Casus IV. About volition. Richard, a saloon-keeper, is glad that his place is filled with guests though he knows that many of these will get intoxicated. To earn money and to prevent blasphemy, he thinks their revelries can't hurt anybody. He even welcomes persons who use indecent language because he does not hold himself responsible for their behavior.

“First question. Having no other motive but gain, does he commit a moral sin selling liquors to persons who certainly will get intoxicated?”

“Answer. Yes and No. Yes, in certain cases. For instance, in the case of a person already intoxicated because the seller’s pecuniary loss would amount to little and total intoxication could be prevented. Theoretically and generally—No, because the saloon-keeper is not obliged to prevent habitual drinkers from sinning and thereby to suffer loss.”

From Gury’s deductions the reader can define the true position of the Romish Church in regard to the liquor traffic and also draw inspirations as to Jesuitical sophistry and morality.

It is true, “the liquor traffic, and especially as conducted here in the United States,”—and principally by the faithful Irish—“is the source of much evil, but it is also the main source of the political power of the Roman Church and of much of its wealth. Therefore, Mr. Satolli, permitting, we shall adhere to the belief, that his decree will remain a dead letter wherever its enforcement might adversely affect the interests and revenues of “the Church of Divine origin and of Divine purpose.” It is also true, that the saloon must be removed from American politics, before political or industrial reform can be achieved, and that total abstinence is a necessity for all persons, who cannot control their appetite and being brutish and treacherous of heart are, when in their cups, beastly in deportment, like the faithful Irish who for centuries have been under the spiritual and moral fosterage of the Roman Church but in whom that church has failed to develop, aye, has suppressed, the moral and intellectual faculties with which they were by nature so largely endowed. Pope Pius IX recognized this necessity in the case of the Irish by receiving in special audience Father Matthew, blessing him and granting to his society many indulgences, which cost nothing. But his Holiness, the infallible, refused to grant the prayer of Erin’s apostle of temperance, to abstain from wine.

In an article published in the *Forum*, April, 1888, Bishop Spaulding of Peoria, Ill., says: “It is nonsense to say that intemperance will be the ruin of American institutions. History does not mention a people ruined by the use of intoxicating drinks.” But history mentions

many peoples that have been ruined by the Roman Church, and that the peoples using intoxicating drinks always conquer the peoples of abstemious habits. Every student of history and sociology knows that the evil of intemperance, and with it the social evil, are only symptoms of the disease with which society is afflicted when the strong are permitted to suppress the weak and equal opportunities are denied to all. The American saloon in all its characteristics and in its demoralizing effects is the logical result of a policy in defiance of nature, a policy having its origin more or less, in moral cowardice, hypocrisy, and a woeful lack of culture.

CHAPTER III

LEO'S ENCYCLICAL ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The widely advertised encyclical of Leo XIII to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, which by the Romanists had for months been heralded as probably marking an epoch in the history of the Catholic Church in this country, aye, in the history of the country itself, was published on January 5, 1895, 119 years after the Declaration of Independence.

Considering the long period of preparation, almost two years, and the amount of care, said to have been bestowed upon it by his Holiness, it is certainly a disappointing document. To the careful student of Leo's policy in American affairs, however, the thought easily suggests itself that the result of the elections in the Fall of 1894 caused the substitution of a thoroughly revised edition for the original draft. In its final form it is moderate in tone, not very aggressive in purpose, its mephistophelian character carefully concealed. Every subject considered in it has already been enlarged upon in these pages, therefore, a very short discussion of its salient points will suffice.

In the introduction his Holiness craftily and in the most approved Machiavellian fashion nurses our national vanity and refers to the labors of the Spanish monks and priests who "let the light of the gospel shine upon the savage tribes discovered by the Ligurian." The Vicar of Christ forgets to mention the cruelties practiced by these missionaries and the Inquisition, cruelties that even moved one of their number, Las Casas, to recommend the importation of negro slaves in order to ameliorate the miserable condition of the aborigines. Thus, the Roman Church is responsible for the peon system of Middle and South America and for black slavery and the negro question of to-day, which may yet jeopardize the economic and social life of the American people.

As to the temporal blessings conferred by the Romish

Church on the American people, his Holiness, having read the *Declaration of Independence*, coolly states that the original purpose of the institutions of the Church has been the "pursuit of happiness." He fails to state whether this pursuit is in the direction of the Inquisition, of Autos-da-fé, of superstition and of ignorance according to the doctrine set forth by a Catholic writer in these words: that "the ignorant peasants of Catholic countries who can neither read nor write and are contented to follow, are by far happier than the enlightened peoples of Protestant countries who strive for their inherent rights."

His Holiness is highly pleased with the prosperity of the Catholic Church in the United States which he thinks is due to the license it enjoys. Of course, he does not say so in plain words, but it is the meaning of the carefully worded phraseology. Lest, however, the peoples of Europe should use this admission as an argument for the separation of the State from the Church, Leo XIII expresses the hope that in time to come the Church may enjoy the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority. In other words, he expects that the Church will eventually gain the mastery over the American nation, as it gained, through Tammany Hall and its Republican allies, the mastery over the State of New York and its treasury. As to the political position of the Church within the State, the *Pontifex Maximus* states: "It would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in the United States is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the Church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for State and Church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced."

As to the labor movement, his Holiness recommends the organization of Catholic workingmen's unions under priestly guardianship and cautions the workingmen to be content with their lot, to submit meekly to spoliation, not to interfere, politically or otherwise, with trusts and corporations and the anarchical conditions of society, and to strike from their vocabulary the word "scab," that they may not imperil far weightier interests, which means, the interests of the Roman camarilla and their bargain with plutocracy and international capitalism.

Leo XIII endorses the action of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore as to the school question and as *Pontifex Maximus* states, that the mission of "Mgr. Satolli" is

principally "*to preserve in the multitude a submissive spirit.*" The Deputy-Pope has been sent "*in the exercise of the divinely-bestowed gift of the primacy not by an adventitious but AN INHERENT RIGHT to send forth legates to Christian nations and peoples.*" In other words, like his predecessors in the Pontifical chair, Leo XIII claims by *inherent right to be the supreme ruler of nations and peoples, and, therefore, of the Protestant American people.*

As to the conversion of American Protestants whose "dissent in matters of faith is a matter rather of inheritance than of will" his Holiness appears to think that American Protestants are imbeciles, unable to think for themselves, spiritually a lot of serfs listlessly following the traditions and superstitions of the past, and intellectually a nation of minors who are anxiously awaiting the mentorship of the old man on the Tiber to lead them across the Jordan. In the seclusion of the Vatican, Leo XIII appeared hopeful of the conversion of the American heretics and as an infallible means recommended: "In this matter, if the first place belongs to the Bishops and clergy, the second place belongs to the laity, who have it in their power to aid the apostolic efforts of the clergy by the probity of their morals and the integrity of their lives. Great is the force of example."

Indeed, it is. "The example of the Tammany braves, of the Romish Irish politicians, and of the multitude of Romish inmates of our jails must work the conversion of the American Protestants to Roman Catholicism."

Until such example has done wonders, the American nation as a whole will not journey to Canossa.

PART XII

THE SOCIAL QUESTION AND THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

CHAPTER I

THE ORGANIZATION AND EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY

SECTION I

In the Direction of Socialism. The American patriot foresees a long and bitter struggle between the Protestants and Romanists, with the victory in favor of the former, provided the battle is fought on the broad and elevating principles of humanity and along the line of the successive social-political evolutions of the Reformation and of the Teutonic race and not in the spirit of sectarian creed and American provincialism. The solution of the question, whether the United States shall ever become a province of Rome or another *Patrimonium Petri*, involves that of the social question. The one is inseparable from the other. If the present order of society, and hence the disintegrating influences of industrial feudalism and Capitalism, are suffered to continue, Rome must eventually succeed in her plans for the reconstruction of American society because the economic and social agencies will in the end have neutralized all the ethical forces which alone are able to sustain the American democracy.

The social question, the relations of the individual to society, is as old as civilization. In the course of time tribes and nations have been evolved from primitive barbarism. Civilization had its origin in the effort of individuals endowed by nature with superior intellect to improve their condition. Having obtained a controlling influence over their neighbors or tribe and therewith material advantages, they were forced to devise measures for the protection of their persons and property and, therefore, to enter into close association for defensive and offensive purposes against the brute force of the physically strongest

and of the masses. To make the protection which their association afforded the more effective the intellectual class was forced to devise measures for the elevation of the masses and for their protection against the physically strongest of the same tribe or nation, thereby to obtain the disposition of the physical forces of the former against the aggressions of the latter and of less civilized neighboring tribes or nations. To secure to this combination of intellectual and physical forces permanency, strength and thereby authority, it appeared proper to invest it as a whole with certain rights and powers which of course had to be defined and formulated by the intellectual class. *Thus society was organized.* Thenceforth its evolution has continually been from a crude isolated individualism toward a gradually more and more complex organic unity. With each successive progress of the human race in intellectuality and therefore in material civilization, society absorbed more of the functions that minister to the whole. This process has continually met with the opposition from the physically stronger, or materially richer, than their intellectually more highly endowed neighbors, and also very often from the masses.

What to-day appears to us as the natural and indisputable right of society was at some time in the history of civilization considered by individuals and entire classes as outrages on their individual rights and privileges which had for centuries been recognized as such. For instance, the feudal lords of the Middle Ages opposed with all their might the attempts of society to deprive them of the right to levy tolls on commerce and industry. They maintained, and justly so, that society tried to interfere with vested rights and to confiscate private property. From the time that society assumed the protection of the individual and of his property to the time when society assumed the supervision of banks, every advance in civilization has been in the direction of socialism and met with opposition on the plea set up by the robber baron of the Middle Ages. Undoubtedly he suffered an injustice. At the time his ancestors arrogated by might or cunning or received from competent authority the privilege to levy tolls on the wayfarer and to rob and slay the Jewish trader, society held that such acts were legal and not immoral and therefore sanctioned them. When, however, the necessities

of society demanded the safety of the highways and free intercourse between the marts, that is, when the commercial class attained superiority in intellect and might over the robber barons and strongly influenced the direction of affairs, then society experienced conscientious scruples as to the morality and legality of robbing and slaying the wayfarer. Of course, the robber baron could not follow the reasoning process by which he should be stripped of privileges honestly acquired by his ancestors according to the legal and moral code of their time and for centuries sanctioned by custom and the church, privileges which had secured to his class wealth, fame, and social recognition. He could not understand why he should suffer death as a felon for defending his property because he did not understand that every progress in civilization is the result of a revolutionary act which in itself, according to the moral standard of the past, is robbery and therefore if unsuccessful, a crime. Thus it has been and ever will be.

The robber baron of the Middle Ages and the Southern slave owner of the nineteenth century held exactly the same position in economics, ethics, and politics and were sustained by law and custom and religious systems. What to-day is legal and recognized by society as morally correct and sanctioned by religious systems, within a century may be held to be a crime against individuals and the welfare of society. When manufacturers lock out their employees that by misery and starvation they may be coerced and refuse to accept arbitration though the welfare of society is jeopardized, they are justified in their action by law and custom and are sustained by the Constitution and, therefore, by the National and State Executives as the representatives of the dominant faction of society which a century ago framed the Constitution. But the time will come when society, having suffered repeatedly and more intensely from such arbitrary acts of individuals or corporations, and labor having risen in political power, will experience severe conscientious scruples as to the legality and morality of a social institution which permits individuals or corporations, at their pleasure and for the furtherance of their private interests, to stop the functions of society and to jeopardize the peace and welfare of a nation. Then may the manufacturers share the fate of the robber barons of the Middle Ages whose repression marked a period in

the progress of the human race. The advance in civilization will continue in the direction of socialism until sooner or later, under one form or another, the principle of collective ownership and control of all the means of production shall have been permanently established as the foundation of society, provided *the masses, while striving for their goal, will submit to the leadership of the intellectual class. Otherwise, civilized society, after having reached a certain stage in the direction of socialism will succumb to the chaotic and therefore destructive forces of materialism and thus gradually sink back into barbarism.*

SECTION II

THE MASSES AND THEIR LEADERS

Society, and therefore all wealth, is the creation of the intellect. When man emerged from primitive barbarism until he had reached a certain condition in material civilization, his fellows of superior intellect, to whose efforts he was indebted for his elevation, were undoubtedly the ruling class and, therefore, the possessors of all wealth. When it became necessary to defend their possessions against barbaric neighbors, the intellectual class had to transfer part of their wealth and authority to the physically strongest of their people in order to enlist their services for defensive purposes. With each successive assault by barbarians this process of partition was repeated, until the physically strongest became the ruling class and the possessors of all wealth.

The close affinity between men of like passions, between imposture and credulity, brutishness and moral cowardice, continued and sustained the intimate relations which had existed between the masses and the physically strongest before these dominated society and oppressed the former. These relations with the masses enabled the physically strongest to reduce the intellectual class to a dependent position. The barbaric results of this combination of anti-social forces is traceable throughout the history of the human race down to our days. It is this fact which enables us to draw conclusions as to the development of society in prehistoric times and to the causes leading to the destruction of prehistoric civilization. The anti-social forces of this combination cause all the evils which in our times re-

tard the progress of the human race. The history of civilized peoples from its dawn to the close of the nineteenth century shows that the intellectual class always came to grief between the upper and nether millstones of the uppermost and lowest strata in society. Even in Protestant countries and in democracies such has been the case. This peculiar relation reveals to us the otherwise inexplicable mystery of the political action of the masses in modern democracies, wherein voluntarily they sustain brute force and cunning in continuation of the process of legal spoliation. The fact is, that the masses are not sufficiently advanced in ethical culture or intellectuality to comprehend their own condition and the all-important bearing of intellectual and ethical progress on that of society and therefore on their condition. Public education is of recent date and sadly wanting in all the qualities necessary for the ethical culture of the masses. This always has been studiously neglected, a sin of commission and omission which may, in the nearest future, exact fearful retribution. Whenever the mighty oppressed the masses beyond endurance, these accepted the leadership of the intellectual class, and then humanity invariably advanced with mighty strides. From this affinity between men of like passions Leo XIII evolved the new Papal policy so far as it aims at the permanent repression of the masses.

From the time that the intellectual class had to surrender the control of society to superior physical force down to the Reformation intelligence strove for supreme power, using as a means the inborn desire of man to discover the cause of his being. From crude fetishism, through the cultural process of ages, intelligence gradually approached the summit of power in the theocratic systems of government of Egypt and of the Hebrews, and finally reached it in the Papacy, during the Middle Ages. Whenever during this process intelligence allied itself with the oppressors of the people or slavishly served Mammon, nations and realms were doomed. When finally through the Reformation the democratic spirit of the Teutons, the humanizing agencies of the family and the humane in Christianity released the human mind from all bondage, intelligence became altruistic and fully qualified to determine the fate of man in all his social relations. The social panacea of Leo XIII, apparently expressive only of Papal ambition and lust

of gain and power, accepts by implication as inevitable and predetermined the progression of intelligence to supreme power as its final spiritual and social mission. Leo's idea to facilitate this social process and to advance the intellectual class in the garb of the priesthood to the sole direction of society under the preponderant influence of the Papacy might be called sublime, were it not that he intended to yoke intelligence with superstition in the service of Mammon.

Leaving out of consideration the questions as to the scientific truth and ethical worth of the social system born of the intellectual greatness and humane qualities of Karl Marx, it must be admitted that he advanced the cause of humanity when he impressed the masses with the necessity of their moral elevation and counseled their independent political action. It is deplorable that his successors in the leadership of the Socialistic Labor Party whose intellectual feebleness cannot discern or appreciate the reciprocal relations of the intellectual and ethical in Marx's economic system, misapply the demonstrations of his researches and mislead the masses, maintaining that all wealth is the creation of crude labor, produced solely by the masses, and is, therefore, their exclusive inheritance. To the student of history it appears to be a fateful error, retarding the intellectual, moral, and economic emancipation of the masses, because it enables cunning, ignorance, and brutishness to raise an artificial barrier between the intellectual class and the masses and, therefore, must extend, perhaps indefinitely, the period of society's enthrallment by might and cunning.

At a meeting of trades-unions in Cooper Union, N. Y., Mr. Burns, the English Labor leader, said: "I can see by your labor papers that you believe with us in England that frock coats and high hats have had their day, and that the time has come when fustian and corduroy should have their innings." This is the language of the demagogical agitator getting a living by trading on the credulity of the masses. In this single sentence, Mr. Burns betrays the utmost ignorance, illiteracy, and want of familiarity with elementary, political and historical facts, an ignorance which unfortunately is common to all the so-called labor leaders and blatant impostors who attempt to dominate a movement for the intellectual and ethical advancement

of the human race by sonorous and emotional proclamations against the intellectual and cultured class. Convincing proof of the inferiority of Mr. Burns' mental equipment and of that of his colleagues is this ignorance of the elementary law of human history that the really suffering classes and races of mankind never break into spontaneous revolt and that social insurrections always begin at points at which social injustice is diminishing because the intellectual class has risen to an important position in society and is forced into insurrection to prevent its reduction. Has Mr. Burns studied the history of the insurrection of the Roman slaves, of the serfs in Germany, of the peasants in England and France? History teaches and the fact is observable in every day life that the masses serve best the most tyrannical master. The Jewish king who answered "My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions," had a more thorough knowledge of the collective character and action of the masses than all the so-called labor leaders who for this very reason lack all the qualifications for leadership. Until the intellectual class has an irrepressible grievance, the masses will serve their masters and will vote for their masters. Besides, Mr. Burns, the American workman dresses not in corduroy and fustian, and a high hat and a frock coat fit him perfectly.

SECTION III

The Division of Property. During the early historical times peoples roamed over vast territories and without great physical exertion found sufficient subsistence. But as soon as they multiplied and the germs of material civilization were developed, the struggle for existence began; at first between tribes or nations, and later, when the population became more and more dense, between the individuals of the same tribe or nation. At this period of the progress of the human race the first division of property took place.

So long as peoples led a purely nomadic life, political or social inequality, as it grows out of the difference in the amount of wealth possessed by the individual, was impossible. Wealth in chattels is perishable within the lifetime of the owner; it is movable, not permanent and thus not subject to entail. But as soon as peoples were forced to forsake nomadic life, and to rely for subsistence

on agriculture, wealth became fixed, represented by the extent of the territory occupied, and rated by the fertility of the soil. The nations settled in fertile countries, blessed with a climate favorable to production, in the course of time became rich, fell into indolence, and thereafter were an easy prey to neighbors by nature less favored. The conquerors took possession of the land and of all movable wealth, subjugated the conquered, reduced them to pauperism, and thus to serfdom or slavery.

In the primitive condition of the human race all wealth rooted in the soil; it followed as a logical conclusion that whoever was in possession of the soil became the ruler of its occupants. *Thus political equality ceased.* With the conquest of nations and the subjugation of the conquered to serfdom or slavery a new form of government became a necessity. To keep the conquered in subjugation, the territory forcibly acquired had to be divided into districts, over which those of the conquerors most distinguished in war were set to preserve the spoils. From time to time, to suppress local rebellions of the conquered and for other causes, it was held to be politic to extend the system of division until all the prominent men among the conquerors were provided for and assigned to the government of distinct territories. By degrees, and as opportunity offered, the rulers thus set up, being physically the strongest, reduced their followers to vassalage and held the land to be their individual property. The principle of the right of individual ownership in the soil once firmly established, it needed but the lapse of time when the ruling race or tribe, in proportion to the extent or value of individual ownership in land, were divided into classes or castes. *Thus social equality ceased.*

During the history of the human race this process of division continued under one form or another down to modern times. Each political or social convulsion, each system of religion, the migration of races and nations, had their origin, more or less, in the desire either to extend or to stop this process, or to change the beneficiaries thereof. In ancient times the achievement of each social convulsion was but a change from the nearly equal distribution of wealth among the turbulent masses, constituted as communistic democracies into anarchy, or the concentration of all wealth in the possession of an oligarchy,

or of a despot. After a short period of barbaric splendor and sham greatness the body politic was beset by the ills of autoeracy or of tumultuous despotism: stagnation, decadence and disintegration. In either case the result was unfavorable to the true progress of the human race. *A change of ownership in wealth does not in itself tend to develop the humane in the individual, in his relations to society, or in society itself.*

SECTION IV

The Humane and the Family in Civilization. It is true that in some of the ancient political bodies wise legislators attempted to infuse the humane into the laws in order to ameliorate the condition of the masses or to insure the permanent welfare of the community. Every such attempt proved abortive. To the student of history the cause of the failure of even the wisest in ancient times to construct society on a purely humane basis, is easily discernible. True civilization is grounded in love and in the solidarity of interest of all the members of the body politic; it depends on the alternating and reciprocal relations of the ethical and the material; but the germs of love find nourishment only in the family, where woman becomes, or ought to become, with man an equal factor in the moral development of the human race. Solidarity of interest and with and through it the ethical development of the family is possible only in a community whereof every member is in the enjoyment of personal liberty and economic independence through the full enjoyment of the fruits of his toil. With but one exception we look in vain into the history of ancient nations for any social institution identical or in any way similar to that of our family. No link connected the individual in his purely humane relations with society. All culture was, therefore, merely of the intellect and civilization moved only in the grooves of materialism; it was a sham civilization through which love and ethical culture, and hence justice to all, could not enter into the body politic. The exclusive application to society of the law of physical force caused it to be divided into two classes only, that of the very rich, and that of the very poor; the one, given up to materialism, became profligate and debauched, the other was degraded to the level of the beast. In such a society the highest intellectual and material de-

velopment through its very origin in purely physical desires and purposes engenders moral leprosy which destroys the organism of the State. Republican Greece and of necessity her arts, theocratic Egypt and her rudely developed sciences, the despotic or oligarchic empires and communities of Asia Minor and their mercantile and oriental riches, were thus swept away, and for centuries every trace of their glory and culture was lost.

When ancient Rome reached the climax of political power and material splendor, the progress of disintegration of society too had reached its height. In its organization no trace of the humane could be discerned; it was darkness here and darkness there. Then it was that with the moral and spiritual life of nations at lowest ebb, two events occurred which were destined to cause a regeneration of the human race, and to impress on its progress two distinct features.

Jesus of Nazareth came and preached the gospel of divine love. Of all ancient historical nations the Hebrew was the only one whose religious system was founded on Deism, in whose social order, though not as a cardinal fact in it, *the family was an established institution*. Thus it happens that the earliest attempts made by statesmen and lawgivers at a solution of the social problem are to be found in the history of the Hebrews; we recognize in the Mosaic Law many features which aim at an equitable distribution of property, and consequently at the attainment of a higher civilization. With the advent of Christian philosophy, an amalgam of ancient philosophical systems, the social order of the Semitic race might have been perfected. Unfortunately for the Hebrew nation it lacked, at the time, the moral and physical energy to assimilate with its religious system the new doctrine, reconstruct its social status, and thus become the standard bearer of a truly humanizing civilization. Christ, the Savior, was crucified. Had he preached the new gospel at the time of the Maccabean endeavor for national unity, the history of the world might read differently—Judaism would have embraced mankind. When Mohammed formulated the social order of the Semitic race, the Germanic element was already sufficiently powerful to confine it to the Orient. From the time the Eastern nations adopted the Koran and with it polygamy as a re-

ligious custom, they ceased to influence the development of true civilization.

Nearly concurrent with the advent of Christ, from the vast plains of Asia, a mighty wave of human beings rolled westward. By causes unknown driven from their homes, the Germanic tribes fell like an avalanche on the effeminate nations of the civilized world. The Roman Empire crumbled to dust under the mighty blows of a people who, utterly devoid of material civilization, possessed a rudely developed social order in which the family was the unit—a people who upheld monogamy, economic and social equality, and therefore justice. On the Teuton institution of the family Christianity and its civilization has been reared.

SECTION V

The Guilds of the Middle Ages. When through the adoption of Christianity the doctrine of brotherly love had been made the binding element in the social order of the Teutons, they were ready to enter on their mission of regenerating and reconstructing society, of opening the great store-houses of nature, penetrating its mysteries, and creating new wealth through the products of industry. It may be safely stated, that only from the period specified the social forces tended to the extensive development of industry. Ancient times knew no such endeavor. During the Middle Ages, in the cities of Germany, France and Italy, wherever the Teutonic element was dominant, the mechanical arts flourished to a high degree; the artisans, employers and employees, were banded together in numerous and powerful bodies, and exerted as such and by degrees, as they formed a distinct caste, the so-called middle class, great social and political influence. In fact, during the long spiritual and political darkness of the Middle Ages, the guilds, *the trade-unions of the times*, were the only strongholds and safeguards of personal liberty against the aggressions of the despotism of Rome, of the princes, and of the landed aristocracy, the reactionary and anti-social forces of that time. Moreover, the *guilds alone* preserved in part the independent religious spirit of the primitive Christian Church; the rest of the Christian World, under the spiritual and social despotism of theocratic Rome, had fallen back into idolatry or into a state of utter spiritual

or religious apathy. It is an historical fact that, but for the love of religious and civic liberty among the sturdy artisans of Teuton descent, individually and as associated bodies, the Reformation would have been impossible, in Germany as well as in England, and Christian civilization might have shared the fate of that of the ancients.

The industrial communities of the cities, represented in the guilds, became with their growth in intelligence, numbers, and wealth an object of bitter hatred and deep distrust of the ruling classes. Toward the close of the Fifteenth century the upper classes and the artisans stood, so far as their civic, political, and religious views and material interests were concerned, arrayed against each other. Signs of the approach of another great social revolution, through which the human race should enter into a higher state of civilization, were multiplying. Wherever theocracy had not entirely suppressed or corrupted the spiritual and social life of nations, that is, in the countries wholly settled by the Germanic peoples and in which they had in dominant numbers assimilated with the conquered, and had engrafted their social order on the body politic, the industrial classes were ready to enact the great social-revolutionary drama which commenced with the Reformation and whose first part closed with the War of Independence. The nailing of the Ninety-five Theses against the Papal Indulgences to the Church-door in Wittenberg by Martin Luther and the hoisting of the Liberty flag at the Battery in New York by the Minute-men were but the *Alpha* and *Omega* of a grand evolution of the human mind, through which freedom of thought and personal liberty were to be secured. Out of these spiritual achievements history developed the political and material progress of our times: DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRIALISM.

CHAPTER II

INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM, CAPITALISM, AND ANARCHISM

SECTION I

From House Industry to Collective Industry. The exceptionally progressive condition of the industrial class during the Middle Ages had its source in the Teutonic institution of the family, which under the laws and customs of the guilds included all the employees of the master. The moral, social, and political power of the guilds arose from the close affinity existing between employer and employee; their relations had been engendered and were sustained by the union of Teutonic democracy and the humane in Christianity.

Unfortunately for the orderly progress of the civilized nations collective industry brought about a fundamental change in the relations of employer and employee. With the development of the factory system the close affinity until then existing between master and wage-earner ceased. The fact, that collective industry had its origin in England, prevented the reëstablishment of humane relations between employer and employee in any other form suited to the altered industrial conditions. The English middle class, having secured through the revolution of 1684 coördinate powers in the government of the realm, held a fixed social and political position, and, therefore, was not under the social and political necessity of attaching the new class of laborers to its political fortunes in order to enforce political or social recognition or to defend a doubtful status in the fabric of the State against the aggressions of the crown and of the landed aristocracy. So the English manufacturers had no incentive to ameliorate the condition of their laborers. Moreover, the latter at first were drawn almost exclusively from the lower class of the rural population and not from skilled labor. Thus it came about, that collective industry, as a social force, in the earliest stages of its development was perverted into industrial feudalism with all its social and political evils. When later on skilled labor

merged into the new industrial system, feudalism and through its operation the so-called "iron law of wage" had been firmly established, not only by custom but also by legislative enactment; that is, the new social power, industrial feudalism had so shaped legislation and given legal status to industrial spoliation as to make possible the concentration of capital or Capitalism.

The politically independent and socially secure position of the English manufacturers, the morally, physically, and socially low condition of their laborers, and the low moral order of the times, tended to reduce English factory labor to the miserable condition of the serfs of the Dark Ages. The employers became merciless despoilers of their employees and these, a brutish, ignorant, and slavish class. The one lost all Christian consideration for their charge, in the other slavishness turned into hate. By degrees the new class of laborers imbibed all those social errors which first manifested themselves in the destruction of machinery and later on in the barbarism of strikes.

Kind nature provides that from every evil shall flow some good. England's industrial and commercial lords accumulated riches from the workings of the new industrial system through the cruel sacrifice of the health and lives of tens of thousands of operatives, but they in turn, overthrew Napoleon's gigantic scheme of latinizing the civilized world and establishing a universal military despotism on the ruins of Teutonic and Protestant culture. The concentration of capital, or Capitalism, made possible the progress in science and enforced the production *en masse*; the result thereof being the elevation of the moral and physical condition of the masses and the increase of their knowledge and desires that now cause the common people to covet their inherent rights and impel them to independent political action for the attainment of these rights.

Through its very nature as an anti-social force industrial feudalism will either utterly destroy the humane in civilization or propel society rapidly in the direction of socialism. The history of the rise, growth, and decline of the feudalism of the Middle Ages will repeat itself: degeneration, almost paralyzation of society, and then successive revolutions by which humanity will throw off the incubus. It will depend on the relations of the masses to the intellectual class, on the ethical progress attained by

the latter, and on the degree of culture or condition of intellectual and moral degeneracy of the former whether these radical changes will take place in an orderly or in a convulsive manner. Macaulay says of revolutions that their violence is generally in proportion to the degree of the maladministration which has produced them. The feudalism of the Middle Ages caused a most violent revolutionary epoch, which commenced with the riots of the peasants in England and France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and closed with the French revolution. The revolutionary epoch of the future will be caused by the anti-social forces of the corporations and trusts, the logical outcome of industrial feudalism and Capitalism. Should the intellectual class continue successfully to advance in ethical culture, these combinations will prove a blessing to mankind, because they will shape and accelerate its progress. Their organization, augmentation, and abuse of power will mark the successive stages in the progression towards socialism.

SECTION II

Trusts and Corporations. For the present and in the immediate future, during the transitional stage of the economic life of the civilized peoples, the trusts and corporations are undoubtedly all-important factors in the cultural progress of mankind and serve other useful purposes. For instance, they demonstrate the general demoralization and corruptibility of the middle class and its intellectual inability to shape the economic policy of the present and therefore of the future. They demonstrate the possibility and necessity of the concentration of the means of production and of its control by the people as a whole. Their natural, rapid and irresistible growth will, in the fulness of time, simplify the transformation of our economic system and shorten the process of removal. Protestantism having reached its culminating point as an ethical force, must also exert fully its social revolutionary force on the economies of the civilized world. The development of the trusts and corporations, by that time probably of gigantic proportion, will enable the intellectual class with the coöperation of the masses to solve the social question of the twentieth century even more speedily and thoroughly than it solved through the Reformation the land-question of the sixteenth

century. The more rapid the growth of the trusts and corporations, the greater their political and financial power and ability to influence and corrupt legislatures and courts of justice, the more rapid will be the approach of another revolutionary epoch, initiating the economic progress of the human race towards a more just and equitable distribution of property and through it the ethical progress of the family and of the body politic.

When all branches of industry shall have been drawn into the vortex of industrialism in its successive, though short progression, the trusts and corporations will control the economic and, therefore, the political life of the civilized peoples. Then, it will be but a question of time when the most advanced nations will be divided into two classes only, into the very rich and the very poor. It is true, that the shares of trusts and corporations are as yet widely distributed, but the causal influences shaping the economic and social conditions of modern times, make for evermore concentration of capital. The shares, now widely distributed, will ultimately be concentrated in the possession of a few hundred immensely wealthy families who through their control of the money markets of the world and of production will be the rulers of mankind.

The same causal influences will place all arable land in the possession of the few. Then the agricultural population will be brought under a new feudal system and forced into the onward movement toward socialism. Only those entirely familiar with the immobility of the great mass of the agricultural population can fully estimate the time required to leaven the lump and to prepare the farmers for the adoption of such methods as will result in the radical cure of all the ills now besetting them, against which they vainly attempted to fortify themselves by the cure-alls of Populism and the magic formula of 16 to 1.

The feudal system of the Dark Ages bred anarchism, leading to clerical absolutism and military despotism. Industrial feudalism also breeds anarchism and in no country more rapidly than in the United States, because the reasoning powers of our people and their moral feelings are not yet properly adjusted. Industrial feudalism in itself is inhumanity, born of utter selfishness and the repudiation of sympathy with fellow men. If not restricted or wiped out it must destroy modern society in like manner as military

feudalism destroyed that of the Middle Ages. To constitute an organized social system something more than written legislation in harmony with a nation's material position is necessary. There must be an unwritten legislation, one composed of usages, customs, accepted ideas and manners, moral laws sanctioned by tradition and sustained by the experience of generations. Our written legislation was in harmony with our material position of a century ago but we were without a moral code for guidance in our social relations. It is true, that an instrument of sublime moral expression was drawn up at the birth of the nation, the *Declaration of Independence*. But the ruling class was careful not to incorporate the principles of social morality therein expressed into the political code of the new organism and thereby into the relations of every day life. Therefore, when industrial feudalism was grafted on our body politic, it had not the moral power of resistance and propulsion to withstand or repel the anarchical influences flowing from the new economic system.

SECTION III

Legalized Anarchism and Official Corruption. The essence of anarchism is a blind hostility to all restrictions upon the freedom of the individual to do what pleases him or is to his pecuniary advantage without regard to the rights of other individuals, and it manifests itself in savage attacks upon every agency which seeks to restrain him by force, or punishment, or instills the humane into the relations of society. In our country anarchy is of two kinds: legalized though unorganized, and outlawed yet organized. About the only difference between the two is, that the one is practiced by a class of people posing before the country as men of principle, instructing the lowly in ethics and religion, arrant humbugs, living a life of deception and crime. Their political agents, the "Barnums of the only moral show," the sham reformers, and political impotents are blossoming forth just at the juncture when the people attempt to rid themselves of official corruption and incorporated oppression. These fellows, the agents of legalized anarchy, are like the wasps that crawl out from under the clapboards when the sun begins to climb higher in the Spring that they may poison with their sting the lifeblood of the people and paralyze their political action for real and

final deliverance from economic slavery. Like the great precursor and prototype of our modern capitalists and reformers, the original Barnum, who professed Christianity and preached abstinence but let his New York property for the sale of rum and lewd purposes, the anarchists of the legalized order make hypocritical professions of Christian virtues to cover the hideousness of their rascality. While outwardly they recognize the necessity of government and law, they violate law, trample it under foot, and defy it.

This spirit of anarchism that is abroad in the land today and finds most violent expression in the lawless and defiant acts of trusts and corporations and in the corruption and slavishness of their political tools, is driving us forward toward the point reached by Israel, when they had no king, and every one did what was right in his own eye. (Judges xxi, 25). Is it not anarchy pure and simple, when the governments of cities are corrupted by the greediness of corporations and business men who by bribing officials gain advantages over competitors or steal franchises? Is it not anarchy, pure and simple, when trusts and corporations buy up legislatures and Congress? Is it not the worst form of anarchy, when the President of the United States and his Secretary of the Treasury, with Senators and Representatives, arrange a Sugar Bill, so that the Sugar Trust can rob the people of the country of millions? Is it not anarchy, when the President of the United States secretly negotiates through his former law-partner with a former client a loan by which the people lose millions and foreign bankers and other people make millions? When a railroad company combines with the coal trust, contrary to the laws of every State through which the road passes, for the sake of forcing coal up, and so causing untold suffering and death among the poor—that is anarchy. When railroads are bonded for many times the cost of their construction—that is anarchy. When railroad corporations are bankrupted by the rascality of directors and stock-jobbers and are turned over to the U. S. Courts and these attempt to coerce the employees under the false charge of contempt of Court that the jobbers and rascals may recuperate their fortunes by reducing wages below the living point—that is anarchy. When the public lands are stolen, when with the connivance of government officials the public forests are ruthlessly devastated by millionaire lumber

thieves and thus vast regions, the home of millions of farmers, are made sterile or laid waste by inundation—that is anarchy, a form of anarchy which it is time for the American people to consider. When steel and armor manufacturers secretly connive with officials to cheat the government by furnishing defective plates for our navy, thus endangering the lives of our sailors and the very life of the nation, and when the President reduces the fine imposed for their treasonable action, while they witness unconcernedly the fierce indignation of a defrauded people and smile at the condemnation of their treasonable practices—that is anarchy. When Carnegie, Frick & Co. and other corporations can hire bands of mercenaries and assassins to coerce labor—that is anarchy of the kind which the feudal system of the Middle Ages brought forth when bands of mercenaries established sword-law as the government of nations. When the President orders United States troops against the protest of the local authorities fully qualified to suppress violence and protect property, to suppress a strike for the benefit of a monopoly and acts with an impetuosity betokening the zeal of the paid attorney anxious to serve his masters, the trusts and corporations, and when at the same time and for the benefit of the same monopoly a Judge of the United States issues an order taking away the rights and liberties of organized labor, an order which it is afterwards learned he did not write, but the attorney of a corporation being a party to the controversy—that is anarchy. And when though a Committee of Congress declares the order to be an outrageous violation of law and justice, this same Judge is yet not removed from office—that is the very essence of anarchy.

Outlawed or organized anarchy may be more coarse and loud, but the worst form of anarchy is that which deliberately overrides law, or corrupts it at the very fountain. Without permanently established social institutions, and absorbed most of all in the mere pursuit of material wealth, the people of the United States permitted legalized anarchism to absorb the functions of the government. While Capital is not worshiped as a god, because the spread of intelligence and the prevalence of Christianity forbid it, yet the spirit of adventure prevalent in this new country set up the "almighty dollar" as the only thing worthy of an American adoration.

SECTION IV

Organized Anarchism, Its Causes, and Rome. It is disgraceful that the advances of humanity toward a better condition should be marked by violence and disorder, but the disgrace belongs principally to those who, by oppressing and brutalizing mankind, render excesses but natural, and one might almost say proper. Man's nature does not change. Therefore, in reflecting upon the fickle and worthless advancing character of humanity, one wonders, how long it will be before another excess of revolutionary rage and hostility to class rule will produce another defacement and demolition such as the past centuries have witnessed. The signs are multiplying that the subversive forces which are fermenting under the surface of the existing order of things in every country of Europe are also at work in the United States. It is not to be expected, that the common people, least of all Americans, will follow the examples of the weaklings in Ireland who, at a certain crisis of the evolution of Erin, as is somewhere recorded in song or story, committed suicide to save themselves from slaughter.

Anarchy above breeds anarchy below. This fact discloses the secret why organized anarchism, invented by a few cranks and outcasts, has gained proselytes or recruited unconscious accomplices among the working people and even among the enlightened classes. People, who practice murder for the sake of murder, and destruction for the sake of destruction, without saying and without knowing what their ideal will be when they shall have destroyed everything, whose watchword is the return to savage life, have become a sort of recognized power in the Latin countries of Europe. That this sect has made no great advance in this country, shows the immense reserve of honest purpose that exists among the American people and that is bound to assure under proper guidance the orderly solution of the social question. There is still a vast amount of unsuspected integrity in the Teutonic race. It is out of that material that the late victories of the American people at the polls were won and it will be that out of which the victory over the anti-social forces of industrial feudalism and Capitalism will be won. There is integrity enough in this country to effect a peaceable social revolution. In a short space of time, as history measures it, it will be far easier to arouse virtuous enthusiasm sufficient

for an entire overthrow of a false economic system, transmitted to us from the stone ages, than to arouse it merely for a partial overthrow, that of evil rulership.

The unnatural social conditions now existing in this nation have directly and indirectly led to lawlessness, bloodshed, the interruption of business, and to all manner of misfortune for the people. Those who enacted lawlessness and bloodshed were hired mercenaries and the rowdy element, congregated in all centers of industries, the brutish Irish and Italian element in the labor organizations that follow the same old Irish guerilla evicted-tenant system and reenact the Sicilian vespers. Both elements being under the absolute control of the Romish priests, these might easily have prevented the outrages committed in the name of honest labor. But the Roman Church had and has a direct interest in surrounding the advances of labor in this country with anarchical conditions that the American plutocracy may receive the impression, and correctly so, that Rome alone can guarantee the continuance of the present order of society. She intends to use the anarchical tendencies of the times and the base spirit of the "Molly Maguires" to intimidate the American people in like manner and to like purpose as she has used the same spirit in Ireland to coerce the English Government. It is no longer a secret that the Order of the Knights of Labor after the death of its Protestant and American founder was made an instrument of Rome and that its absolute master, Mr. Powderly, was only the agent of the Jesuits. The recognition of this truth led to the organization of the American Federation of Labor. Through the subserviency and moral cowardice of its Hebrew leader the new organization was also made an instrument of Romish policy. The American labor and farmer organizations of the future, if ever they shall approach or effect the orderly solution of the social question in this country, must exclude all elements whose sphere of thought and of political action is not within the traditions of the Teutonic race and whose moral being is not founded in the ethics of the Reformation.

CHAPTER III

THE AMERICAN FARMER AND WORKINGMAN

The conservative action of American labor, industrial and agricultural, is something wonderful considering the provocations and abuses to which the workmen and farmers are exposed. It cannot be denied, that industrial feudalism and Capitalism are nowhere less considerate than in the great American Republic. The farmer is the serf of the corporations and usurers and receives relatively less compensation for his toil, that is for the products of the farm, than the cultivator of the soil in any other civilized country. His interests are made absolutely subservient to those of the moneyed powers and of their servants, the political mountebanks and quacks who administer the government and justice and legislate for the exclusive benefit of International Capitalism. Considering the amount of work exacted from the American mechanic and laborer and the extraordinary drafts made on his vitality, the uncertainty of employment, the long periods of idleness caused by the anarchical condition of production, landlordism and the inhumane policy of leaving the aged and exhausted to shift for themselves or to become objects of charity, the wage of the American mechanic and laborer is the lowest of all industrial workers in the civilized world and his condition the least desirable.

All the evils of industrial feudalism: inhumanity toward fellowmen, the employment of women and children, the substitution of cheaper female labor for male labor with its anarchical and destructive tendencies on the family and the entire moral and social life of the people, are in no other civilized country so pronounced as in the land of unchecked competition, unchecked legal spoliation, and unchecked demagoguery, though only fifty years ago the home of the most splendidly organized democracy of historical times. However strong the reserve of honest purpose may be, under such conditions labor must ultimately drift into tumultuous channels entirely removed from religious and conservative influences. Sentimental Christianity, which banks every-

thing in the future and nothing in the present and as the servant of Mammon is the curse of our people, cannot effectually dam the anarchical waters that will slowly but surely destroy the foundation of society. It is a hard matter to make a good Christian of a hungry man. No matter how long he has belonged to the Church, how he shouts in the church, if he goes home hungry and finds nothing to eat, his family in distress, without prospects and a future, he will before long find the specter of anarchy less and less frightful, and the thought of an appeal to destructive measures less and less abhorrent. The kind of religion we need is one which will direct the masses in their orderly progress to economic independence. At present the workman and the farmer of the land are like the impotent and withered of whom the Bible tells us, stretched around the pool of Bethesda, waiting for the moving of the waters.

The opportunities of life under the present conditions are not equal, and changes are needed to forestall the anarchical tendencies of current industrial life. The workingman and the farmer are now held in bondage by their surroundings and driven hither and thither by the scourges of industrial feudalism and Capitalism, just as much as if they were actually slaves, although the fetters and the whip are invisible and intangible. A sorry close this is for our republic after having started with such bright hopes and boundless energy; after having passed through so many great periods; but when money is made king and god, when feudalism and plutocracy surmount justice and democracy, when property is valued above man, a terrible dénouement is inevitable.

If the religious and ethical forces are not able to repel the spirit of anarchism in our land, the beginning of the end is surely at hand. The sores of Lazarus have a poison in them which causes all this ferment in society of which the weak in mind and soul despair. Surely, this ferment is nothing new. It has been at work for centuries, only we now are more conscious of it. It is only the latest chapter in an ancient tale of wrong. In those dumb ages when there was a cover of silence and suppression on the caldron the masses suffered in fear and in silence and only the God of justice recorded their sufferings against the oppressors. When the translation of the Bible revealed to the masses God's mercy and love, that they too were the children of

God and entitled to his bounties and blessings, when the Reformation planted beside the church the school and made these the foundations for a new civilization, the masses apprehended for the first time the rights and opportunities granted to all men by their Creator and sealed with the blood of the Redeemer.

The origin of the bitter hostility of labor to capital, of the employee to the employer, which to the casual observer of men and things appears to be one of the most unfortunate conditions of the time, is really traceable to the improved condition of the masses, to a better knowledge of their rights, of Christian truths, and of the laws of nature, and is, therefore, rather a sign and guarantee of the progress of the human race than of a relapse into barbarism. Formerly the immense majority of men knew only their sufferings, their wants, and their desires. They are beginning to know their opportunities and their power. However, since with many the chief end of man seems to have become keeping the body alive, and making it as comfortable as possible, there appears this danger, that the heaven may become so wholly political and material as to entirely exclude the ethical. This is ominous not so much to the present structure of society, which cannot much longer withstand the leveling process of the irresistible progress in philosophical thought and scientific research, as to the organization of the society of the future because it would set upon it the stamp of materialism and therewith foredoom it to destruction.

It is only by aggravating the wrongs of men that what are called the rights of man become turbulent and dangerous. Then only will they syllogize unwelcome truths. It is man's inhumanity to man which causes the insurrection of the masses. When society neglects to consider the problems which are made the occasion for social disturbances, when it sets itself in a blind idolatry of the present against all and every progress, when society manifests a regal incapacity for apprehending that the world is moving, then it is but natural that the sufferers from existing evils proclaim as their sole aim the ruin of that which exists, and show impatience with the thought of a peaceful socialization of the community. The very fact that organized anarchism is at all possible in Christian communities and can preach revolution and overthrow and murder, refusing to

give ear to any peaceable reform or social transformation, is convincing proof of an existing wrong. Society treats the lowly in the uncharitable spirit of the pharisee and merchant who passed with haughty mien the unfortunate one lying helpless by the wayside. Its willful neglect to recognize the supremacy of the social question, to study all its bearings, and to approach its solution in the spirit of good will and guardianship, is responsible for the accumulation of all those destructive forces that, as history teaches, may finally sweep our civilization into a cataclysm of blood.

While we cannot prevent the crumbling away of systems, we can prevent the scattering of moral forces. It seems that as a nation of moral beings hastening to eternal destiny we have sadly neglected our opportunities to infuse the humane into our civilization. Have we carefully considered the social problems? Have we as dutiful citizens candidly and courageously discussed these problems sincerely to ascertain what wrongs exist and what remedies should be applied? We have not. We have extolled the virtues of plutocracy *ad nauseam*, and have stigmatized the grumbling of the masses as the vaporing of drunken, rioting, law-defying anarchists, the very offsprings of hell, or have ridiculed it as the hysterical emanation of illbalanced hotheads and fanatics not worthy of consideration in this age of materialism. We have treated the social question as a hobby, a philosophical whim, something merely of the nature of an academie like that of a theory. Until now, we have with the carelessness and capriciousness of the spoiled child of fortune, given no thought to the lessons of history and have answered all complaints of the masses with the conviction of ignorance and in the spirit of levity. Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, who when the people surrounded the royal palace and asked for bread, said: "Why don't they eat cake!" Shortly after the Queen's head rolled into the basket.

The newspapers as a whole, almost hopelessly immersed as they are in sensationalism and party politics, have allied themselves with legalized anarchy and meet every movement in the direction of socialism and the most conservative discussion thereof with ridicule and the most bitter abuse, or lacking courage and all the elements of appreciation necessary to treat fairly this great social and historical problem, refuse to subject the old social construction to a

searching study and seek for the generative roots of the evils of society. The Church has held aloof from the labor movement, ignoring it altogether or condemning it. Consequently the masses have come to feel that the State, the Church and the press, and all the agencies and powers of society are allied with International Capital against them and their cause.

The inarticulate protest of the masses against the wrongs inflicted upon any one of their brethren has furnished to legalized anarchy, to the sybarites and shirks of society, and to their political tools in public office and on the bench, a pretext for needless persecution and unnecessary violation of the personal liberty of citizens. The social results of industrial feudalism and Capitalism which are rapidly culminating in this country in the two extremes of vast consolidated wealth and absolute poverty, move the laborer to speak of himself as if he belonged to one of the fixed social gradations of an aristocratic system, while he is in reality a member of a society that provides in the ballot a remedy for all these social evils now besetting him. The dependent economic position of the laborer and farmer is in fact due to their own folly and ignorance which keep them in the thrall of political parties owned by International Capitalism and of an economic system which gradually has robbed the one of every opportunity to become independent and will eventually rob the other of his farm. The fact is, the masses have not yet emptied the cup of bitterness to the dregs, since legalized anarchy has not yet filled the measure of defiance of law and virtue, of democracy and humanity, but this evil culmination is not far off. Washington said of the people: "They must feel before they will see. When that happens, they are aroused to action." The initiative towards social reform that will lead to a rich and high toned civilization and solve all the political problems of the civilized world, must be developed by the best of the people, not by the people, because the people are never ripe. It is not the insurrections of ignorance that advance the human race but the revolts of intelligence.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIALISM

SECTION I

In the United States. Until now we have in our country only noticed the bubbles and scum thrown up by the universal fermentation of human thought on economics. The extraordinary blessings by Providence bestowed upon our people, have until lately made easy the problem of making life rich and fruitful in varied material achievements. Consequently, our spiritual life has been barren and monotonous, and we have paid little or no attention to nature's laws as to spiritual and economic progress, or to the fast approaching period in our national economic life when the storehouses of nature must cease to overflow and the real struggle for existence must commence. It is only a few years since the generality of our nation to which the necessity of a change, before it can be attempted, must first be brought home, has begun to pay any attention to the social question, though it had already powerfully stirred the nations of Europe. Yet, what immense progress the public has made during that short space both as to ideas and in appreciation of the importance and urgency of solving the social problem. A conflict of ages, the causes of which had defied the moral forces of the world and those of Christianity, seems now to be near its termination. The powers, so immensely increased under the reign of industrial feudalism and of Capitalism resulting from the coöperation of the same sets of causes which have led to the destruction of ancient civilization, to the Reformation, and to every evolution in the progress of the human race, must in very short time lead to the solution of all the riddles of political and social economy which have puzzled and agitated mankind from the beginning.

Many European authorities on archæology agree that ancient history and culture originated on the American continent. It is more than probable that in the United

States the first practical advances in the direction of the economic emancipation of the masses and of a more complete and scientific socialization will be made. All the conditions for such an advancement in the direction of socialism are present. Where the majority rules through self-governing groups of men, the isolating features of industrial feudalism and the concentric influences of Capitalism must either give way to the economic and social necessities of the majority, or these antisocial forces will be annihilated by an appeal to arms. If the author of this book reads correctly the signs on our political horizon and interprets rightly the murmur of the democratic masses against the things that are, nor through overmuch faith in the intelligence of the American democracy, errs in his conclusions, then it is a certainty that the majority will continue to rule, because they belong to a race that is not afraid to face deep, even fundamental changes and new responsibilities. As to questions of economics and of social progress there has, as yet, been no appeal to the mind of the American people, to their calm, dispassionate, sympathetic judgment. All such questions involving fundamental changes in the relations of the individual to society and its organization, must first become the subject of earnest discussion not only by the parties directly interested, but by practically the whole of the society whose every member is invested with sovereignty through the ballot.

When the public intelligence has been reached and a public judgment formed, then the majority through their orderly elected representatives, will decree all the charges necessary in our social structure for another advance in the direction of socialism, creating conditions in harmony with the cultural advance of the generality of the nation. And this process will be repeated as often as the intellectual class becomes convinced that the necessary advance in general culture has been made. The Supreme Court of the United States decided long ago that the regulation by the community through its legislative and executive agents of all industries which to any large extent affect its well being, is one of the national government's constitutional rights. In the suit of the Standard Oil Company owning gas works in the City of St. Paul praying for an injunction forbidding the construction and operation of municipal gas works, the U. S. Courts decided, that the city might

build a railroad across the State and carry everybody to and fro upon it free of charge at the public expense. From the government's ownership of mines, railroads, etc., to its ownership of all means of production will be but one continuous process of evolution. This process must be regulated by the moral progress of the nation to guard against the abuse of power, leading to the creation of chaotic conditions and hence of tumultuous despotism. That such will be the development of American society careful observers of the drift of public opinion and of the march of events in the history of the American people can surely not doubt. To the ruling class this feature of the progress of our civilization gives no comfort, but it is useless for them to shut their eyes to it. Should the trusts and corporations, and the moneyed powers generally, attempt to oppose by violence, fraud, or the corruption of the agencies of the government, the onward movement of the American people in the direction of socialism and, therefore, the will of the immense majority, they would become guilty of insurrection and draw down upon themselves a more cruel fate than that which overwhelmed the slavocracy of the South; or should they seize the government by force or by the jugglery of 8 to 7, they would cause a revolution that might rival in ferocity and destructiveness the one of 1789 in France. In either case the onward movement of the masses would be accelerated, unless the military aspect of such a violent movement should become a possibly deciding factor or Rome should gain the mastery over the American people.

SECTION II

International Socialism. It is vain to organize the unknown, that which is hidden in the future, to reduce it to an infallible system, and to lean on its miraculous effects, since nature alone, through the progress in scientific research and in ethics, will mold the society of coming generations. Therefore all progress in the direction of socialism depends on the advancement of the intellectual class in science and ethics. So long as the Socialistic Labor Party refuses to accept these truths, so long its efforts to to secure the amelioration of the condition of the masses and a fundamental change in society will prove abortive. Though the social question of the day from its origin in industrial feudalism and Capitalism, is of an international

character, yet, the forces of international socialism in its present form and substance are essentially as hostile to ethical culture as they are to property because they are of a cosmopolitan character and as such must assail the moral position of the most advanced race and of all its national branches. They are hostile to what civilized men call patriotism and, therefore, will never be able to deliver their assaults with destructive effect. As a race believing in liberty and conscience, one and inseparable, the Teutons will and must oppose every class movement that is not in harmony with their traditions and ethics, or sets itself against the intelligence, and hence practically applied to the functions of society must assail and eventually destroy the unit of Teutonic civilization, the family. It is a law of nature that the moral character of all social institutions cannot rise above that of their efficient cause. Therefore, the moral character of the forces of international socialism cannot rise above that of the element of lowest moral perception. The civilization of the Teutonic race should, therefore, have to be reduced to the moral tone of that of the Celtic or Slavic races. For instance, the family not being originally the foundation of the social order of the Celtic peoples, having been ingrafted by the Church as an ordinance of the Lord, it must cease to be an essential element in the new social order whenever the Celtic peoples cease to believe in the Lord, and, therefore, in the sacrament of marriage.

According to this law of nature the spirit of brutishness, with which the lowest ranks of men are imbued, is dominant in the councils of the Socialistic Labor Party and directs its political action, though for purposes of parade it is skillfully concealed by a thin veneer of intellectuality and culture, or an arrogant assumption of superiority in moral philosophy and the science of economics, of which the imperfectly educated masses can have no conception whatever and the leaders, risen from the ranks, but a confused knowledge. The very few leaders drawn from the intellectual class, in their isolated and rather painful position, must, to keep up appearances, have recourse to the arts and tricks of the demagogue or else give up, because they can exercise no moral influence over the rank and file of a party which in and by its doctrine that all wealth is created by crude labor, appeals in fact,

however carefully it may strive to hide this, solely to the lowest passions of the lowest order of men.

This spirit of brutishness, which since the organization of the society has been its bane, dictated the resolution by which the leaders of the S. L. P. refused the coöperation of a Socialistic organization of students of the University of Berlin. It is unfortunate that these leaders, mostly Eastern Hebrews, have hardly any perception of the soul-quickening ethical forces of the Teutonic race and, therefore, are entirely unfitted and unable to direct or influence the transformation of its social structure.

SECTION III

Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle. Karl Marx, though born in the Jewish faith, was never a Hebrew in heart and soul, because his cradle stood in the western part of Germany in which the German cultural life had for generations gradually absorbed the Jewish population. When Marx laid down the scientific principles of a new economic system, he was in heart and soul a Teuton and not a Jew. As a matter of fact, he was in his moral being and in mental discipline of that school of German philosophers who may properly be called Progressive Protestants and who initiated and carried forward the great intellectual movement that culminated in the unity of Germany, and gave birth to social science and scientific research. In moral composition and in knowledge Karl Marx towered far above Ferdinand Lassalle, the dime novel hero of the Socialistic Labor Party.

Lassalle was born of rich Jewish trades-people in 1825 in the extreme eastern part of Germany, where the Jews were not formally emancipated until 1848. Of intellectual greatness, aristocratic desires and inclinations, and an inordinate ambition, the consciousness of his position as a Jew in a society possessed of mediæval prejudices became the bane of his life. Having departed from the ark without being able to part with the spiritual impressions received in youth from elanish environments and talmudical teachings, without moral stamina and fixed principles, he became a politician with whom the end justified the means, and a leader of the masses, that he might barter for royal favors the influence acquired over them. To gratify the passions of lust and ambition to enter

the drawing room of aristocratic society, he offered his conversion to Catholicism as the price for the hand of a lewd and voluptuous woman of the aristocracy. Lassalle's brilliant personality, perhaps, too, the very immorality of his short but eventful life, impressed the masses deeply, but also, and unfortunately so, placed on the Socialistic movement of continental Europe the impress of social immorality, of political demagogism, and of Hebrew scepticism and cosmopolitanism, which are not creative but dissolving agencies in the life of nations.

SECTION IV

The Socialistic Labor Party. The Socialistic Labor Party of Germany is a conglomerate of heterogeneous elements without the cohesion of ideas, ethics, or ideals, strangely thrown together by the anti-social forces of industrial feudalism and Capitalism. Such a mixed mass must separate into its homogeneous parts, the moment the artificial pressure ceases or is reduced or the most numerous element is powerfully attracted by the moral forces of the social organism, wherof the mass is but a fractional part. This is already apparent. The Socialistic Labor Party is, so to say, not a malignant tumor in the body politic to be cut out by surgeon's knife, but a neoplasm which will readily yield to the remedies the intellectual class shall prescribe, as soon as it thoroughly understands the nature of the disease which has produced the new formation. The cure of *la maladie social*, as the Frenchmen call this disease, cannot be effected by the rancorous ire of ignorance or by exorcism; it is not a case for the surgeon, unless neglected, in which case it may develop into a malignant tumor and even cause death, operation or no operation. The disease will yield only to scientific treatment, and to this the intellectual class must apply itself.

The intellectual class or learned estate of Germany has taken up the study of the disease, because, as a class, it already has been deeply affected by it. From the traditions of the race, from the ethics of the Reformation, and through the application of unclouded reason and of science, this class will evolve the remedial measures to effect the gradual transformation of the social organism, the process to be regulated in time and degree by the successive advances of the masses in general culture. The Social-

istic Labor Party of Germany, as now constituted of often disloyal and always heterogeneous elements, is really not dangerous to society, but the fact that the intellectual class of that country appears to be thoroughly dissatisfied with its social and economic position and fully aroused to the necessity of an uncompromising and rapid advance in the direction of socialism, is ominous not only to the social order of Germany but also to that of every other civilized country. Germany still being the fountain of intellectual and ethical progress, such a spiritual movement of her intellectual class must affect the entire civilized world. In force of character and intensity of purpose it will be far stronger than the Reformation. It is the revolt of intelligence that is dangerous to society and fateful to rulers and to the oppressors of peoples. It seems to be the sense of Germany's intellectual class, that superior strength and cunning shall no longer supersede in authority of intellectuality and culture.

SECTION V

Social Progress. The life of a State, like the life of an individual, is but a progressive development of intelligence, and character. To make possible such a development, it is necessary that all men should enjoy the largest possible measure of freedom, and should be equally bound by the ethical and mutual obligations which are essential to social existence on the basis laid down by Christ in his sermon on the Mount. So long as men are mortal, there will exist a natural inequality in mental and moral qualities. We may proclaim human equality as loud as we please but we cannot change the laws of nature which as to mental and moral qualities, capriciously bestows its favors upon the children of the same family. It never can be the business of society to equalize by decrees the mental and moral qualities of the members of the social family. Such an attempt would lead to anarchical conditions under which every member of the community would be a government unto himself. So long as society is society all it can do is to guard against the anti-social forces of superior physical strength and cunning and to open by proper legislation and the removal of all débris of past ages a clear pathway for merit of any kind.

Thomas Jefferson said: "Laws and institutions must

go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind," and again: "The New England townships are the vital principles of their Governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by men for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation." If we adopt these truths as the guides to our political action our progress in the direction of socialism will be peaceful and free of error. The one instructs us as to whom we should intrust with the leadership in the onward march of events, the other points out to us the form of government applicable to the enlarged responsibilities of the community under the operation of the more perfect social institutions of the future. The system of the New England township government had its beginning in the action of the inhabitants of Charlestown, Mass., when they adopted on February 10, 1635, an order "for the government of the town by Selectmen, giving to eleven persons, *with the advice of Pastor and teacher*, the authority to manage their local affairs for one year." This form of self-government was inconsistent with a system of great plantations, like those in the Southern colonies; and it was this fact more than anything else which developed such difference in character as actually existed between the North and South. It is also inconsistent with the existence of trusts and corporations, with industrial feudalism and Capitalism. The good people of Charlestown were prophetic of the events leading to a higher civilization when they decreed: "with the advice of Pastor and teacher," the representatives of the intellectual class in a primitive community of the wilderness.

With forty centuries of human progress, and the experience of our people during the century of their independent political existence before us, it would be foolish, were we in this age of science, to accept the present structure of society as perfect and hence give ourselves up to the blind worship of political creeds and social institutions of the past. That certain forms of government and social orders have been by past generations accepted as perfect, is no proof that they are perfect or adapted to the needs of the future. Though certain theories for centuries had been accepted by the wisest of their time, succeeding generations discovered their untenability and proclaimed new ideas as they saw them in the pure light of reason. For centuries the only proper economic system for civilized peoples was

held and believed to be a competitive system, likewise that the struggle for the survival of the fittest, destructive of life, health, and happiness, was sanctioned by the God of mercy and love; to-day the wisest of men and thousands of divines boldly assert that the one is a woeful error of the human mind, and the other a relic of heathen barbarism and superstition.

Whenever, in past ages, the wisest and holiest of men have in contradiction of long accepted beliefs, raised the standard of truth and justice, they were ostracised by the fetish worshipers and even made to suffer a martyr's death. But truth is mighty and must in the end prevail. Succeeding generations accepted the new ideas and advanced in the humane. When we turn the pages of history we shudder at the woeful tales of the death of martyrs and of the destruction of nations and realms due to the stubborn refusal of generations to give up the old and accept the new, adhering to the past. Thus, too, future generations may contemplate with amazement our idolatrous veneration for an antiquated economic and social system which, transmitted through the passions of avarice, ambition, and fear from the Dark Ages to the age of science, may sweep us into anarchy and ruin.

CHAPTER V

THE SUBLIME MISSION OF OUR UNIVERSITIES

SECTION I

The Education of Our Future Rulers. Whether future generations shall bless or curse us, whether American society shall steadily advance towards an ideal state or from want of spiritual motion decay, must depend on the rapid progress of our intellectual class in science and ethical culture, and therefore on our ability and willingness to change the foundations of our universities and to enlarge their functions by the introduction of more intellectual and humane elements.

It would be far better to have the material progress of the country come to a stop than to continue the prodigal Byzantine practice, a policy which already has brought about the complete and almost irremedial downfall of the landmarks that served as guides in the moral, social, and political life of our nation. To restore these and secure for them greater and more lasting prominence will be the imperative duty of our future rulers whom we must educate in our universities.

Men and communities are not elevated by new adjustments of social relations nor made humane and heroic in spirit by decrees but only by the slow process of education. To be permanent and beneficent, the change in a nation's life for the better must be effected from within and the impulse must issue from the centers of culture—the universities. The changes which the past century has witnessed in the relation of social classes and in the subjects of knowledge are making the life of a nation but a reflex of the cultural life of the universities. Where these are merely marts of knowledge and not seats of spontaneous and sustained research, or places of liberal culture and moral training for life in general, there the ultimate fate of a nation will be moral decay, and all schemes for reconstructing society and for making the people virtuous and happy must prove ineffectual death. A subtle, moral

energy issues from universities when these give to the future rulers of a nation a truly humanizing and liberalizing education, and the soul-culture is not sacrificed to a mere training for a bread and butter earning career.

SECTION II

The Cramming Process. Measured by the educational standard of Europe, our colleges and so-called universities were, until within a generation, merely preparatory schools in which our youth received a narrow sectarian training because these institutions were allied to different religious denominations. That many of the students became eminent in literature, in art, and in philosophy is true, but not through these institutions; they became eminent in spite of their early education because genius will not stay within narrow bounds.

A fixed curriculum, enforced attendance on all college exercises, the marking system, the paternal attitude of the faculty toward the student, and the essentially religious character of all his surroundings may have been favorable to mental discipline of a conventional kind and to the cramming process. They were, however, detrimental to moral autonomy and did not represent even a partial appreciation of the fact, that a university training does not consist merely in learning, but in the harmonious combination of teaching and investigation free from all restraint, in the intellectual and humane elements with which the atmosphere of the seat of learning is charged, in societies, in the associations of the faculty and students with the outside world and that of culture, and in the many undefined things which are evolved from the absolutely free and constant intercourse of the professors and students with the genius of the age.

The pretentiousness of our colleges in educational matters became a national misfortune. While their graduates in exceptional cases only were sufficiently advanced in knowledge and general culture to pass the matriculation examination in a European university and were spiritually restricted in the contemplation of all things that pertain to general culture and to the ever changing conditions of modern life, they applied their limited, often antiquated knowledge and their twisted or cramped faculties of mind and soul to the affairs of State and society with the assur-

ance of the man, of whom the Bible tells us, that he was "wise in his own conceit."

It is true that, within a generation, an undisputable change for the better has been wrought in our higher educational institutions by the advance of the nation from provincialism and narrow fanaticism toward the ethical ideal of the Galilean fisherman which is universal and human, and which must be the ideal of the American democracy and of Progressive Protestantism. We have now a number of educational institutions which, as to the choice of studies, the improvement of teaching, and a larger academic policy, may claim the title of university, and they will have fully earned it, when their directors fully appreciate the fact that the history of the universities is the record of the moral and social evolution of the human race in the Christian era.

SECTION III

Secularization and Nationalization. Whether our educators ever will appreciate the aforementioned fact, depends on the American people making the social progress which will bring about the nationalization of university education. Otherwise, the newly planted tree, rooted in a soil but imperfectly prepared, may be destroyed by dry rot before it reaches full growth, blossoms, and bears fruit. True university education presupposes complete secularization of education so far as teaching and investigation are concerned. This does not imply the substitution of materialism or vulgar naturalism for Christian ethics, but it does mean that secular instruction shall not be subordinated to the teaching of dogma, or that the pure light of science be transmitted through an ancient medium absorbing or coloring the rays. The German universities are entirely removed from all religious and dogmatic influences; they are today the freest spots on earth and yet are the bulwarks of Protestantism, are deeply imbued with the humanizing spirit of Christianity, and are the embodiment of the ethics of the Reformation.

Unfortunately, our principal institutions of learning are under the direction of sects, or were founded and endowed by narrow minded sectarians and plutocrats. These, often ignorant, always bigoted people, who had and have not the least conception of a university education, really thought or

think it possible, to establish sectarian institutions of learning that shall aspire to the dignity and scope of universities. The late President Harper of the Chicago University, endowed by the Standard oil king, John D. Rockefeller, proposed as a remedy for the "secular instruction that is unchristianizing the universities" the exclusion of agnostics from the professor's chair. How under such a condition to establish a first class university, must be left to the type of men like that College President who lately presided at a meeting for the furtherance of the Romish cause in this country and thus endorsed the assaults on Protestantism and the cruel distortion of historical facts by a convert to Catholicism who attempted to prove that the Roman ecclesiastical machine has been and is the most tolerant and progressive institution of the civilized world.

SECTION IV

Plutocracy's Harmful Protection. Can such men explain, why the Christian evangel, which they think is in danger of being supplanted by secular teachings, has not been able to exclude from the most sectarian colleges the spirit of brutishness that manifests itself in the football game, of which Bourget, the French philosopher and historian, says, that it "is a game of young bulldogs brought up to bite and tear," and in outrages of the cowardly and infamous character as was the crime of which some years ago the students of Cornell University were guilty. Is such a crime not akin to that of the anarchist bomb-thrower? The shamefully riotous conduct of mobs of students, of which we hear almost daily, the fact, that faculties distinctly encourage the sneaks and poltroons of hazing notoriety, and the hiring of professional ruffians to masquerade as students on football teams, are certainly not chargeable to the agnostic tendency of the science of philosophy or to the Christian evangel but to the distortion of moral theology by sectarian fanaticism in the service of Mammon. How is it, that in Yale College where sectarian influences are paramount, the bulldog spirit is most zealously nursed, and the gouging of eyes, the cracking of skulls, and cowardly violence are considered by the faculty as a magnificent advertisement for the institution!

This bulldog spirit flows from the subserviency of the

faculties to plutocracy which by a judicious investment of millions exercises a commanding influence over the higher educational institutions of the land and fosters the spirit of savagery, that the future rulers of the people may qualify as proper tools for the corruption and oppression of the masses. The fear, that our university education may be stranded on the mudbanks of Capitalism, is not a creation of fancy, but of the logic of facts which are daily recorded.

The *New York Sun*, the organ *par excellence* of the plutocracy, cautioned in an article entitled "Hostility to accumulated Wealth" the rich men of this country to enlist on their side the intelligence if they expected to secure their riches, because otherwise they would be as helpless to resist spoliation by the majority of the people as were the nobility of France to resist the revolutionists of the eighteenth century. Another article in the same newspaper, in which the Vanderbilt family is lauded and magnified for an additional gift of \$500,000 to Columbia College, contains the very significant remark "it is also an evidence of their sound judgment."

There is imminent danger that our student youth will be systematically corrupted and brutalized in the interest of plutocracy. When they are grown to manhood and enter into the affairs of life or assume the government of the nation, they will foster the worst tendencies of the struggle for the survival of the fittest; their Brahminical brutality will brush aside all considerations of humanity in their dealings with the masses; their intelligence and caste will serve their plutocratic masters and accelerate the process for the permanent repression of the people.

As a humanizing and liberalizing agency our system of university education is a fraud, and a snare for the masses. Under the dominant influences of narrow fanaticism and plutocratic vulgarity it produces neither statesmen nor educators of the people, but only corrupt and petty politicians and as to faith and character, vulgar hypocrites. It is a deplorable fact that research and culture are not sought after, or only furtively and without honor, by the students; no higher aims as to learning, enlightenment, and the humane are set before them; the *esprit de corps* does not exert itself toward the elevation of character or in the

planting and nursing of honor, but to the apotheosis of muscle at the expense of the brain, heart, and soul.

SECTION V

An Imperative Duty of Our Student Youth. Self-preservation commands the American democracy to nationalize the universities and preparatory schools. American society has reached that stage of development where the direction of public affairs must be left to those having received a university education and a special training in all the branches of knowledge applicable to the complex machinery of modern government. The science of government can no longer be mastered by undisciplined minds or by so-called business men, brought up in the sordid atmosphere of the counting-room, and by vulgar politicians, the chance product of ward caucuses. Furthermore, it takes something besides brains to lift to a higher plane the national conscience and, thereby, the government of this great democracy. If we search for statesmanship in the counting-room and in the ranks of the professional politicians of the class that for a generation or more has been the curse of the nation, we search in vain. We must educate the statesmen of the future; we must educate our future rulers. To do so, successfully, the generality of the nation must control the universities in which only such education is possible. If we fail in this, the passions of man will bring about a social and political deluge, the end of which no mortal can foresee.

Morally we are already arrived at a point from which further steps in the downward direction will throw us into anarchy with its climax, militarism or clerical despotism. Fortunately, society at large can travel no faster than the majority, which still consists of the God fearing men who produce the wealth of the nation and of their women who hold sacred the duties of wife and mother. Under proper guidance their patriotism and virtue will triumph over ruffianism and moral frivolity, and, if necessary, they will strip the plutocratic oppressors of their immense and ill-gotten wealth, the fountain source of social immorality in our republic.

There is a deeply rooted instinct in the men of our race to admire what they find in others better than in themselves and to follow the leadership of those who by their fidelity

to the traditions of our race and to the ever ennobling truths of Christianity are ordained to lift society to a higher plane. These divinely ordained leaders will be drawn from the intellectual class, from the ranks of the thousands of studious young men in our universities, who are now the scrubs, grinds, or digs, and whose light is obscured by the gods of the heathen arena. These studious youths, who are now despised and looked down upon, must cast their lot with the democratic masses, with the silent throng of sad-faced Christian people who are tilling the soil and are turning the wheels of industry, and who are the solid, immovable pillars of the structure of democracies.

To educate the intelligence is to enlarge the horizon of its desires and wants. From Golgotha down to the martyrdom of Abraham Lincoln, every advance of the human race has been the work of the intellectual class, of the student youth who were despised and looked down upon and who, in manhood, tore down the structure of a rotten society that had abused them and failed to recognize their divine right to rule. They always leaven with light and righteousness the almost immovable body that is the broad foundation of every society.

It is an imperative duty of our student youth to organize that they may assume the leadership in the movement to nationalize our universities and to regenerate and reconstruct society. They should organize, as the German students did in the early part of the last century, when their country was in the darkness of despair. The Christian and patriotic spirit of their organization, the "Burschenschaft," roused the German people to the highest moral and intellectual endeavor. Our student youth should prepare themselves to assume the duties and responsibilities of government. Thomas Arnold says: "The highest earthly desire of a ripened mind is the desire of taking an active share in the great work of government." To the labor of the disciplined and ripened mind must be left the solution of the economic and social problems agitating society and their adaptation to our national genius, racial traditions, and religious customs.

Therefore, the future of the American democracy depends on the role of the intellectual class in the process of the reorganization of society. The character of this process, whether peaceful or violent, whether progressive or reac-

tionary, will be determined by the character of the moving forces.

Whether the reorganization of society will be enforced by a revolt of intelligence and, therefore, in an orderly and beneficent manner, or by the insurrection of ignorance and, therefore, in a violent manner with doubtful results, or will be brought about by anarchical conditions favoring the establishment of clerical despotism and of the Papacy on American soil, must be left to the process of time.

That Rome expects the last of these alternatives and decidedly prefers it, has been clearly shown in these pages. If further proof is necessary, it is furnished implicatively by Mgr. Satolli in an address delivered at the annual banquet of the Carroll Institute, Washington, D. C., February 25, 1895. The exponent of the thoughts and policy of Leo XIII said:

"The opinion is certainly growing that we are nearing a most critical point in history, and that in this country especially great problems will soon demand positive solution. All the horrors of a social revolution are predicted by men as renowned for accurate and calm thinking as Professor Goldwin Smith and Professor Von Holst. . . . The Catholic Church alone holds the true solution of the terrible problem which lies on the threshold of the twentieth century, and it belongs to the Pope alone to pronounce a social *Pax Vobiscum*."

But while Cardinal Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto and political agent of the infallible Pope, counsels the American people to efface from their mind the glorious and humanizing achievements of their ancestors and to accept as a future condition the spiritual, economic, and social slavery of the common herd during the Dark Ages, the descendants of the Pilgrims, of Herkimer and Hale, of Abraham Lincoln and John Brown will find the solution of the momentous problem confronting them on the threshold of the twentieth century in the traditions of their race, in the ethics of the Reformation and, therefore, in the perfection of the great Anglo-Saxon democracy which only is entitled to pronounce to a Protestant and Republican community a social *Pax Vobiscum*—PROGRESSIVE AND AGGRESSIVE PROTESTANTISM.

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